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THE WRITINGS
OF
THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

OF
The Second Century;

NAMELY,

ATHENAGORAS, TATIAN, THEOPHILUS, HERMIAS, PAPIAS,
ARISTIDES, QUADRATUS, &c.

COLLECTED TOGETHER AND FIRST TRANSLATED COMPLETE

BY

THE REV. DR. GILES,

LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.



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PREFACE.

THE second century of the Christian era, though abounding in deviations from the simplicity of primitive faith and practice, yet presents a more inviting field of inquiry to the student of Christian literature, which may in fact be said then to begin. It is not surprising that for seventy years from the crucifixion, whilst the first disciples were busy in teaching, few would think of writing about what occupied so momentous a place in the course of their daily life. But, when the first progress of the new religion had been made, the Christian society naturally turned their attention to write as well as to teach; a literature then began to grow which was destined to occupy in the end quite as much of the world's attention as the classics of Greece and Rome. Still, it must not be supposed that the Christian writings of the second century are very numerous. With the exception of Justin Martyr, the Sibylline Books, the Uncanonical Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and the Legends of Early Martyrs, all the writings which belong to the second century are comprised in this volume.

I. ATHENAGORAS.

Of Athenagoras, the first author in our series, the only ancient writers who can give us any information are Methodius and Philippus Sideta. The former quotes a single sentence from Athenagoras, in Epiphanius's work against Heresies, § 64, and in Photius, cod. 224. The testimony of the latter is given by Dodwell, in his Dissertations on Irenæus, from a fragment, taken, as he thinks, out of the works of Nicephorus Callistus. "Philippus Sideta says in his 24th Sermon: 'Athenagoras was the first master of the Alexandrian school, in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus, to whom also he inscribed his *Oration* sent on behalf of the Christians: he professed the Christian religion, even whilst he wore the cloak of philosophy, and was master of the Academic school. Whilst he was meditating to write against the Christians, as Celsus did after him, and was reading the Holy Scriptures in order to attack them more thoroughly, he was seized by the Holy Spirit, and, like the great Paul, instead of persecuting that doctrine, which he was attacking, he became a teacher of it.' Philippus says that Clemens Alexandrinus was his disciple, and Pantæus the disciple of Clemens." But this account is doubtful, because it contradicts Eusebius, a much earlier writer, who says, in his Ecclesiastical History, v, 11, that Pantæus was the teacher, not the pupil, of Clemens Alexandrinus.

The only works remaining of this writer, are 1. His *Apology for Christianity*, and 2. His *Treatise on the Resurrection*. The time when he wrote, namely about the year 180 after Christ, is learnt from the inscription of the former work to the emperors Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus.

The Greek text of Athenagoras has been often printed: the editions with which I am acquainted are these:—1. Gr. Lat. a Dechair, Oxonii, 8vo., 1706; 2. cum Justino Martyre, a Prud. Marano, Hag. Com., fol., 1742; 3. in Oberthür's Collection of Patres, 8vo., 1777; and 4. in Galland's Bibliotheca Patrum.

These works were before translated into English, and published in a volume, of which the following is the title:

"The Apologeticks of the Learned Athenian Philosopher Athenagoris, I. For the Christian Religion, II. For the Truth of the Resurrection against the Scepticks and Infidels of that Age. Together with a curious Fragment of Justin Martyr on the Subject of the Resurrection, not published in his Works. And two other Fragments, the one attributed to Josephus, the other to Methodius, concerning the State of the Dead: both from MSS. of the late Reverend Dr. Grabe: with the Original Greek printed in the Appendix. Done into English, with Notes. To which are prefixed two Dissertations, the one concerning the Jewish Notion of the Resurrection, the other concerning Athenagoras and his Remains. By David Humphreys, B.A., of Trinity-College in Cambridge. London: Printed by Geo. James, for Richard Smith at Bishop Beveridge's Head in Paternoster Row. 1714."

I have occasionally made use of this translation, but, generally speaking, it is very inexact, and rather a paraphrase than a translation.

II. TATIAN.

Tatian was an Assyrian by birth, and, like many other of the early Christian writers, was bred up a heathen. He became a convert to the new religion and a disciple of Justin Martyr. He tells us in his *Oration against the Greeks*, which is his only remaining work, that he had been a great traveller, and had resided in the city of Rome. He originated several

practices, that seem to have been new among the Christians, such as abstinence from marriage, from wine, and from animal food. From the austerity of his doctrines, he received the name of Encratites. The best edition of Tatian's work against the Greeks is that of Otto, 8vo, Jenæ, 1856.

The work has, I believe, never before been translated into English, and, from the obscurity of some of the sentences, and the corrupt state of the text, has even now been translated with great difficulty.

III. THEOPHILUS.

Theophilus, the writer of the three books in defence of the Christian religion, addressed to Autolyceus, is thought to be the same as Theophilus, sixth Bishop of Antioch, named by Eusebius in book iv, chaps. 19 and 20 of his Ecclesiastical History. Different opinions, however, have been held on this subject, and some have identified him with the Theophilus to whom the gospel according to Saint Luke is inscribed—a theory which it is unnecessary on the present occasion to refute. The author, in the course of his works, speaks of other writings of his, as for instance *The Creation of the World*, and *Histories* (see note to page 157, line 24). None of these are now known to be extant. The Theophilus, whose Commentaries on the Gospels are found among the works of the later Fathers, is a different person.

The time, when he lived, may be conjectured from his bringing down his chronology, at the end of his work, to the death of Aurelius Verus, A.D. 169.

The Greek text of this work was first published with *Tatian, opera J. Frisii*, fol., Tiguri, 1546, and after several interme-

diate editions, at Hamburg, by Wolf, 8vo., 1724. It is also found in the Benedictine edition of Justin Martyr, fol., Paris, 1742, and a new edition of it is expected from Otto, the German editor of Justin and Tatian. I am not aware of any other translation, before the present, into the English language.

IV. HERMIAS.

Nothing whatever is known of Hermias, the author of this treatise. Cave refers him to the second century; but the Benedictine editor of his works thinks he may with as great probability be ascribed to the third. All agree that he was later than Justin Martyr, whose words and thoughts he occasionally imitates. The Benedictine editor considers his whole treatise to be no more than an expansion of that paragraph in Tatian's work, § 25, "You follow the doctrines of Plato," &c. (see page 102 of this volume). The name of philosopher is given to Hermias in all the manuscript copies of his work, from which it would seem that, like Justin and others, he was a Gentile philosopher who embraced Christianity.

The original Greek text of Hermias has been often printed. It first appeared at Basle, 8vo., 1553, at the end of DEMETRII CYDONII *Oratio de contemnenda morte*; and, after several intermediate editions, at the end of Worth's Tatian, 8vo., Oxon., 1700. But the best edition is at the end of the Benedictine Justin Martyr, fol., Paris, 1742, until the expected edition of it by Otto, to correspond with his Justin Martyr, shall be published. The present translation is the first (as far as I know) that has ever been made into the English language.

V. PAPIAS.

Papias is said by Jerome [*De Vir. Ill.* xviii] and Eusebius [*Eccl. Hist.* iii, 36] to have been bishop of Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia in Asia, and to have been a hearer of Saint John the evangelist. Eusebius's estimate of it that he was a "little-minded man" does not deter us from regretting the loss of his writings; for, though they may betray the weakness of mind for which Eusebius censures him, yet his Explanation of our Lord's Oracles or Sayings would have been a valuable commentary on the Parables and other discourses of Christ found in the four Gospels. It is only those who treat the whole subject with contempt, who deny that there is a very remarkable peculiarity in the style of Christ's discourses, infinitely more indicative of his teaching than any marks now remaining to specify in like manner even the most remarkable of the Grecian philosophers.

VI. ARISTIDES.

Jerome, from whom we obtain most of what we know about these writers, tells us [*De Viris Ill.* 20] that Aristides was an eloquent philosopher of Athens, who dedicated an apology for Christianity to the emperor Hadrian.

VII. QUADRATUS.

Quadratus, contemporary with Aristides, also presented to the emperor Hadrian an apology for the Christians, when he was sojourning for a time at Athens. In this work he alludes to the miraculous cures of persons who lived down to his own times. The loss of this work is much to be regretted.

VIII. ANONYMOUS ELDERS QUOTED BY IRENÆUS.

Irenæus who lived at the end of the second century, and the beginning of the third, quotes several passages from certain "men of old time," but without mentioning their names or even, except in three instances, giving their exact words. See the notes.

IX. AGRIPPA CASTOR.

"Agrippa surnamed Castor, and a very learned man, argued most eloquently against the twenty-four volumes which Basileides the heretic had written against the Gospel, setting forth all his mysteries, and enumerating the prophets Barcabas and Barcob, and some other barbarous names to the terror of his hearers, and his great god Abraxas, which as it were contains a year, if we reckon according to the numbers of the Greeks. Basileides, from whom come the Gnostics, dwelt at Alexandria in the time of Hadrian: and was contemporary with Cochebas leader of the Jewish faction, who put to death the Christians with various kinds of punishments." [HIER. *de Viris Ill.* 21.]

X. ARISTO OF PELLA.

Grabe tells us [*Specil. Pat.* ii, 127] that Aristo is nowhere mentioned but in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, iv, 6, and by Maximus in his Commentary on Dionysius Areopag. *de Mystica Theologia*, cap. i, where he is named as the author of a Disputation between Jason and Papiscus. He lived in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Celsus, the enemy of Christianity, names his *Disputation* as worthy not

so much of ridicule as of pity. This we learn from Origen [*con. Cel.* lib. iv]; and may possibly be true, for the early Christians were uneducated, rude, and often exceedingly indiscreet: but nothing is so much desired by the world at large as the recovery, even now if possible, of these early records of the Christian faith.

XI. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS.

Apollinaris was bishop of Hierapolis under emperor Antoninus Pius, to whom he inscribed a work in defence of Christianity. In the time of Jerome were still extant his work against the Gentiles in five books, his two books on the truth of Christianity and against the Cataphryges or Montanists.

XII. DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH.

Dionysius lived under the Antonines, and was the author of eight epistles, of which a few fragments are preserved by Eusebius alone.

XIII. PINYTUS.

Pinytus was bishop of Gnossus in Crete, and known only for a letter which he wrote to Dionysius of Corinth, warning him that the Christian people must be fed not on milk always, but on more solid food.

XIV. HEGESIPPUS.

One of the most important of these early Christian writers was Hegesippus, who, in the reign of the Antonines, compiled in five books a history of Christianity during the 150 years

that had elapsed from Christ to his own time. Even the fragments of this work, which remain, contain some interesting notices of the apostles and their times.

XV. EPISTLE FROM THE MARTYRS OF LYONS
TO ELEUTHERUS.

This letter was written in the year 177, according to Constantius (*in Rom. Pontif. Epist.*, Paris. 1721), on behalf of the churches of Asia and Phrygia, the peace of which was disturbed by the novelties of Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus.

XVI. EPISTLE FROM THE CHURCHES OF VIENNE AND
LYONS, &c.

This epistle proceeded from the same source as the last, and is ascribed by Ecumenius, in his Commentary on the First Epistle of Saint Peter, chap. iii, to the celebrated Irenæus.

XVII. PANTÆNUS.

“Pantænus, a Stoic philosopher, according to an old custom at Alexandria, where there were always ecclesiastical teachers from the time of Mark the Evangelist, was a man of such great prudence and erudition, both in sacred and profane literature, that, at the request of certain ambassadors from India, he was sent into that country by Demetrius bishop of Alexandria. There he found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, had preached the coming of Christ according to the gospel of Matthew, and on his return brought it back

with him to Alexandria, written in Hebrew letters. Many of his commentaries on Holy Scripture are still extant, but he profited the churches most by his living voice. He taught under Severus and Antoninus surnamed Caracalla." [HIERON. *de Viris Ill.* 36.]

XVIII. RHODON.

Rhodon, an Asiatic, was a disciple of Tatian at Rome and lived in the time of Commodus and Severus. He wrote on the Hexahemeron and against the Phrygian heretics.

XIX. FRAGMENT OF A SYNODICAL LETTER FROM THE COUNCIL OF CÆSAREA.

The letter, of which this sole fragment remains, forms part of a long discussion that was raised about the end of the second century, concerning the celebration of Easter—whether Easter-day should be kept on any day of the week on which at the revolution of the year it should fall, or only on the Sunday afterwards. This dispute, which caused many schisms in various parts of Christendom, still formed a subject of discussion in England down to the time of Venerable Bede.

XX. POLYCRATES.

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, was the principal person who upheld the Asiatic mode of celebrating Easter, and wrote to Victor bishop of Rome the synodical letter of which a long fragment has been preserved.

XXI. FRAGMENTS OF A LETTER FROM THE COUNCIL OF LYONS.

The severe conduct of Victor, in reply to the former letter from Polycrates and the Asiatic bishops, gave dissatisfaction to the church of Lyons, which sent the following letter, said to have been written by Irenæus, to dissuade Victor from excommunicating their Asiatic brethren.

XXII. SARAPION.

Sarapion was made bishop of Antioch in the eleventh year of Commodus and wrote an epistle to Caricus and Pontius about the heresy of the Montanists: also against the Judaizing of Domninus, the Gospel of Peter, Epistles, &c.

XXIII. AN ANONYMOUS ELDER,

Quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, and again by Eusebius. Nothing more is known of him: but it is a fair inquiry, whether the name *Elder*, *Presbuteros*, is used to indicate an aged man, or a man invested with the ecclesiastical office of priest.

XXIV. APOLLONIUS.

Of Apollonius the Phrygian we know little more than that he wrote several works, directed especially against the heresies of his own country. Eusebius alone has preserved fragments of his writings.

XXV. MELITO.

The last writer given in this volume, is Melito, bishop of Sardis, the author of numerous works, all of which have perished. Besides other works he appears to have written one called *Clavis*, a Key to Scripture, in which every idea and almost every word are interpreted allegorically. An oriental version of this work, hitherto supposed to be lost, has lately been found by Dom Pitra and edited in his *Spicilegium Solesmense*,—if, at least, the work be really that of Melito, for there seems to be some doubt on this subject, arising from the Latin version bearing the name of Miletus, thought to be a corruption for Melito. If the work be genuine, it is a most dull and heavy composition, and I have deemed it wholly inadmissible into this volume, the more particularly as its original text is lost.

Thus the reader has before him every writing and fragment that remains of the second century of our era, except those longer works which belong or *may* belong to the same period.

The translation has been made from the text of Otto for Tatian; from the old Benedictine edition for Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Hermias; and from the *Reliquiæ Sacræ* of my late venerable friend Dr. Routh, for the other twenty-one writers contained in this volume. It was originally intended to give the Apostolical Fathers in an accompanying volume, so that the present would have been vol. ii. of the work; but, as Archbishop Wake's excellent translation is easily accessible, the idea was abandoned.

J. A. GILES.

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I.

ATHENAGORAS,

THE

ATHENIAN PHILOSOPHER AND CHRISTIAN.

I. HIS APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY.

To the emperors, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus, conquerors of Armenia and of Sarmatia, and, what is greatest of all, philosophers.

Your world, great emperors, enjoys for each people its own different customs and laws, and none of them are prevented by law or fear of punishment from keeping to the customs of their country, even though they may be ridiculous. The Trojan calls Hector his god, and worships Helen, knowing her by the name of Adrasteia. The Lacedæmonian calls Agamemnon Jupiter, and Phylonoe the daughter of Tyn-darus, and worships her as Tenne Hodia. But the Athenian sacrifices to Erechtheus as Neptune. The Athenians also perform rites and mysteries to Agraulos and Pandrosos, who were thought to be impious for having opened the box. And, in one word, both nations and provinces celebrate whatever sacrifices and mysteries they please. But the Egyptians regard as gods both cats, and crocodiles, and snakes, and asps, and dogs; and you and your laws give way to all of these,

deeming it impious and wicked to hold that there is no god at all, but necessary that each should have the gods he pleases, that by fear of the deity they may be withheld from doing wrong. But for us—do not keep aloof, as most men do, even from hearing us—you are enemies to our very name. For names do not deserve hatred, but injustice deserves justice and punishment. Wherefore, admiring your mildness and gentleness, and your peaceful disposition and benevolence towards every one, individuals enjoy equal rights: but the cities enjoy equal honours according to their deserts, and all the world by your prudence enjoys profound peace. But we who are called Christians,—that you have shown no consideration for us, you admit, but, though we do no harm, but of all men, as will be shown in the course of my oration, are the most piously and most righteously inclined both towards the deity and your government, you suffer us to be robbed, and plundered, and persecuted, and the multitude make war against us only for our name—we have ventured to give you some information about ourselves; and you will be informed by this oration that we suffer without justice, and contrary to all law and reason. And we ask of you to take thought for us also, that we may at length cease to be sacrificed by those who slander us. For neither is the punishment from our persecutors limited to money, nor our ignominy to a fine, or our hurt to any other of those great evils (for we despise them, although they seem to many to be of importance; never having been taught, not only to give blow for blow, but not even to litigate with those who rob and plunder us: but to some, even if they throw dirt on one side of our face, to present the other side of the head also to strike; and to others, if they take away our vest, to give up to them our cloak also); but they plot against us, even to our very bodies and souls, when we have given up our substance, shedding over us a crowd of accusations, which do not belong to us even in thought, but to those who talk so idly.

2. If any one can convict us of doing wrong, either little

or great, we do not deprecate punishment, but we demand to receive that which is the most severe and unmerciful. But, if the accusation is against our name only (up to the present day at least, what they spread about us is the common and indiscriminate rumour of mankind, and no Christian has been convicted of a crime), it already becomes your duty, most great and benevolent and learned emperors, to ward off injury from us by law : that, as all the world, both individuals and states, have shared in your benefits, we also may have cause of gratitude towards you, and praise your names for having been released from those who slander us. For it is not consistent with your justice, that other men, hearing a charge of their crimes, are exempt from punishment before they are convicted, but that in our case the name has greater weight than proofs in a court of justice, because the judges do not inquire if the man tried has done any crime, but insult him about his name, as if that were a crime. But no name, of itself and through itself, is thought wicked or good ; they are deemed bad or good on account of the bad or good actions that are done under them. But you know these things clearly, as having issued forth from philosophy and all learning. Wherefore also those who are judged before you, even if they are defending themselves from the greatest offences, are confident, knowing that you will inquire into their lives, and will not listen to names, if they are empty, nor to insinuations from the accusations, if they should be false : they receive the judgment that condemns them with the same justice as that which acquits them. We also, therefore, demand the same right that is shown to all, not, because we are called Christians, to be hated and punished (for how does our name tend to crime?), but to be judged of those things about which any one accuses us, and either to be let go, if we wipe off the accusations, or that those who are found guilty should be punished : not for the name (for no Christian is a bad man, unless he has falsely assumed the appellation), but for some crime. Thus also we see those from the schools of philosophy

are tried. None of them, before trial, on account of his science or his art, is set down by the judge as being good or bad; but, if he has appeared to be guilty, he is punished, without reflecting any crime on philosophy (for he is the bad man who does not practise philosophy according to law, but the science is not to blame); but, if he wipes out the charge, he is acquitted. Let it then be the like in our case, let the life of the parties judged be inquired into, but let the name be freed of all blame. It is necessary for me, when beginning to apologise for our doctrine, to ask of you, great emperors, to be impartial hearers towards us, and not to be borne away by vulgar and irrational rumour, and prejudiced against us, but to turn your love of learning and your love of truth to our doctrines. For thus both you will not err from ignorance, and we, escaping from the indiscriminating talk of the people, shall no longer be the objects of their attack.

3. They assign three accusations against us, atheism, Thyestian meals, and incest like that of *Œdipus*. But if these are true, you will show mercy to no kind of us, but assail these crimes: slay us root and branch with our wives and children, if at least any man of us lives after the manner of a beast. Indeed, even beasts do not touch those of kindred species, and by a law of nature they copulate at some one season of generation, not at liberty; and they know also by whom they are benefited. If any man then is more savage than even the beasts, what punishment should he suffer for such things, that he may be thought to have also been duly punished? But if these accusations are tales and vain calumnies, seeing that vice is opposed to virtue by a law of nature, and that those things which are opposite to the law of God are opposed to one another, and if you are witnesses that we do none of these crimes, bidding us not to, it is your place, for the rest, to make inquiry about our life, our doctrines, our loyalty and obedience towards you, your house, and your sovereignty, and so at length to concede to us no

advantage over those who persecute us. For we shall conquer them, yielding even our souls without reluctance for the truth.

4. That we are not atheists—for I will meet each of the charges separately, lest it be also ridiculous not to refute those who say we are—the Athenians justly charged Diagoras with atheism, when he not only exposed to the public the Orphic words, and published the mysteries at Eleusis and those of the Cabiri, and chopped up the statue of Hercules to cook his turnips, but openly declared that there was no God at all. But for us, who distinguish God from matter, and show that matter is one thing, but God another, and that the interval is wide (for that the Deity is uncreated and eternal, contemplated by the mind only and by reason, but that matter is created and perishable), do they not unreasonably attach to us the charge of atheism? For if we thought the same as Diagoras, when we have such pledges for worshipping God, such as the good order, universal harmony, size, colour, form and plan of the world, the opinion of irreligion and a criminal accusation would justly be brought against us. But since our doctrine upholds one God as the maker of this universe, himself not created (for that which is, cannot be created, but that which is not) and as having made all this by the Word that went from him, we suffer both things without reason: we are both spoken ill of and persecuted.

5. The poets and the philosophers were not deemed atheists, for employing their minds about God. Euripides, doubting about those who according to the common prejudice were ignorantly named gods, says :

'Twere fit that, if in heaven a Jove there be,
The good man were not wretched.

But for the god that is perceptible by science, as he dogmatically observes :

Seest thou the high, the endless field of æther,
Clasping the earth around in its moist arms?
Think *that* your Jupiter, deem *that* your God.

For he neither saw the natures of those gods on which the name had been imposed :

I know who Jove is by report alone,—

nor did he see that the names had any beings really as subjects of them. And in the case of those who have no subject natures, of what advantage to them is the name? But he knew the true God from his works, judging of those things which appear by the sight of those which are unknown: the air, the æther, and the earth. Of whomsoever these were the works, and by whomsoever's spirit they are ruled, him he took to be God. (Sophocles also agreeing with him—

One in all truth there is, there is one God,
Who made the heavens and the spacious earth—

about the nature of God, which is full of his perfect beauty.) He teaches us both these points—where God must be, and that there must be only one God.

6. But Philolaus also, saying that all things are contained by God, as it were in ward, shows that he is one and above matter. But Lysis and Opsei define God, the one as number incalculable, the other as the excess of the greatest number over that which comes nearest to it. Now, if ten is the greatest number according to the Pythagoreans, both as being the square, and as containing all the arithmetical and harmonical ratios, and next to this lies nine; God is unity, that is one, for the greatest exceeds the least which is next to it by one. But Plato and Aristotle (I am not going through what they have said about God, as showing accurately the opinions of the philosophers, for I know that you excel all as much in perfecting all learning, as you surpass all in the wisdom and strength of your government; and you succeed as much in each branch of learning as those who have selected for themselves one separate branch of it: but since it is impossible, without quoting names, to show that we are not the only persons who comprise God in unity, I have

therefore referred to these opinions)—Plato, then, says that it is a task to find out the creator and father of this universe, and, when one has found him, it is impossible to declare him to all mankind, meaning the one uncreated and eternal God. But if he knew of other gods besides, as the sun, and the moon, and the stars, yet he knew them as created beings. Gods of gods, the works, of which I am the maker and the father, could not be without my will. Everything that is bound together may be loosed. If, therefore, Plato is not an atheist, holding that there is one uncreated God, the maker of all things, neither are we atheists, who recognise and maintain him as God, by whom all things were made by his word, and held together by his spirit. But Aristotle and those after him, upholding one God, like an animal compounded of parts, say that he consists of soul and body, considering his body to be heaven, and the planetary stars, and the sphere of those that are not planetary, moving in a circle; but his soul the reason which is over the motion of his body: himself, however, is not moving, but as being the cause of its motion. But those of the Porch, though in appellations, according to the variations of matter, through which they say that the spirit of God goes, they may multiply the Deity by names, yet in reality they consider him as one God. For if God be an artificial fire, proceeding methodically in the production of the world, comprising all the modes of generation, by which each thing is produced according to fate, and his spirit extends through all the universe, God is one, according to them, named Jupiter [*Zeus*], from the hot nature [*zeo*] of matter, Juno [*Hera*], from the air [*aëra*], and called by the other names according to each portion of matter which he pervades.

7. Since, then, it is agreed by all in general, coming to the principles of all things, even though they are reluctant, that God is one, and we affirm that he who set in order all this is God, what is the reason why they, on the one hand, are allowed to speak and write about God with impunity what they please; but a law is imposed on us, who hold what we

think and truly believe, that there is one God, to prove this by signs and arguments of the truth? For poets and philosophers have touched on this, as on other things also, by conjecture, moved, in sympathy from the spirit of God, each by his own soul, to inquire if he was able to find out and understand the truth. But they were not found competent to comprehend him, seeing that they thought fit to learn about God not from God himself, but each from himself. Wherefore, also, each of them laid down different doctrines, both about God and about matter, and about forms, and about the world. But we have prophets for witnesses of the things which we think and believe, who by God's spirit have declared both concerning God and concerning the things of God. But you also, who excel others in prudence and in piety towards the true God, can say that it is unreasonable, abandoning the belief in the Spirit of God, who moved the lips of the prophets as mere machines, to attend to human imaginations.

8. Thus, then, consider that God, the creator of this universe, was one from the beginning, that you may have also the reason of our faith. If there had been two or more gods from the beginning, they would have been in one and the same place, or each of them apart in his own place. Now they could not be in one and the same place; for, if gods, they could not be alike, but, because uncreated, not alike. For things created are like to their patterns; but things uncreated are unlike, having been produced neither from any model, nor for any. But if, as the hand, and the eye, and the foot are in one body, filling up the parts, and making up one out of them, God is one. And indeed Socrates, as being created and perishable, is compounded and divisible into parts; but God, being uncreated, and without passions, and indivisible, is not, therefore, composed of parts. But if, each of them being apart, the one which made the world being above the things and occupied with the things he made and arranged, where would be the other, or others? For, if the

world, having been completed spherical, is shut in by circles of the heaven, but the maker of the world, holding himself above the things created, and exercising his providence over them, where is the place for the other god, or the others? For neither is he in the world, because it is another's, nor about the world, for the God who made the world is above this. But if neither in the world nor about the world (for all that is about it is occupied by the first), where is he? Above the world and God? In another world, or about another? But if he is in another and about another, neither is he any longer about us; for neither does he rule over the world, nor is he great in power, for he is in circumscribed space. But if he is neither in another world (for all things are filled by the first god), nor about another world (for all things are occupied by the first), he is even not in being at all, there being no place where he can be. Or what does he do, whilst there is another to whom the world belongs, and himself being higher than the maker of the world, and not being either in the world or about the world? But is there anything else that he may stand somewhere, this being opposed to the real, whilst above him is God, and the works of God? Where shall the place be, seeing that this our God has filled all above the world? But does he exercise Providence? Indeed he has done nothing, if he does not use Providence. But if he does nothing, nor yet uses Providence, and there is no other place in which he exists, this God, the creator of the world, is one and the only one.

9. If then we were satisfied by such thoughts, a man might think that our doctrine was a human one. But since the voices of all the prophets confirm our reasonings, I think that you also, who are lovers of learning and most learned, have not remained ignorant either of Moses, or Esaias, or Jeremiah, and the other prophets, who by inspiration of their thoughts, the Divine Spirit moving them, spake forth whatever they were directed, the Holy Spirit using them as a piper blows his pipe? What then do these say? "The Lord is our

God: another shall not be compared unto him." [Is. xli, 4.] And again, "I am God the first and the last, and besides me there is no God. There was no other God before me like unto me, and after me shall not be; I am God, and there is none besides me." [Is. xlv, 5: and xliii, 10.] And concerning his greatness, "The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, or what shall be the place of my rest?" [Is. lxxv, 1.] But I leave to you, getting upon the books themselves, to sift carefully their prophecies, that by reasonable argument you may put a stop to the injury that is done us.

10. That we are not atheists, then, I have sufficiently shown, seeing that we uphold one God, uncreated and eternal, unseen, and without passions, not to be taken in or comprehended, comprised by the mind and by reason alone, clothed in light and beauty and spirit and power indescribable, by whom everything was made and arranged, and is maintained through his Word. For we recognise also the Son of God. And let no one think it ridiculous that God should have a son. For we have not formed our notion either about God and the Father, or about the Son, as the poets tell in their mythology, showing that the gods are no better than men. But the Son of God is the Word of the Father in idea and in operation. For by him and through him all things were made, the Father and the Son being one; but the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, in singleness and power of spirit, the mind and the Word of God is the Son of God. But if through the excess of your intelligence it comes upon you to inquire what the Son wills, I will tell you in few words, that he is the first begotten of the Father, not as having been born (for God from the beginning, being eternal Mind, had the word in himself, comprising the Word from all eternity), but he came as the idea and energy of all things; all matter was subject to him by formation, and the elements blended together and mixed by his operation. The prophetic spirit too confirms this argument, for it says—

“The Lord created me, the beginning of his way, before his works.” [Prov. ii, 22.] And as for the Holy Spirit, who works in those who speak to us prophetically, we assert him to be an offshoot from God, flowing from him and returning, as a beam proceeds from the sun. Who then would not wonder, hearing us called atheists, who declare there is God the Father, and God the Son, and the Holy Ghost; who show their power in unity, and their distinctiveness in their junctions? Nor does our theological division end here: for we say, there is a great multitude of angels and ministers, whom God, the maker and creator of the world, hath distributed by his word, and appointed to serve about the elements, the heaven, and the world and the things in it, and the proper arrangement of these things.

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11. But do not wonder, if I am thus particular in the account of our religion; for I am minute, that you may not be carried away by the popular and unreasonable opinion, but may be able to know the truth: since we can show you from our own tenets and notions, which were not invented by men, but delivered and taught us by God, not to hold us for atheists. And what are the doctrines in which we are brought up? “I say unto you love your enemies, bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you;—that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just, and on the unjust.” [Matt. v, 44, 45.] Permit me, then, seeing that I make my apology before emperors, who are philosophers, and our discussion is become loud and clamorous, to bring the matter to plain speaking. Who is there of those who loose syllogisms and dissolve doubts, and clear up etymologies, or homonyms, and synonyms, and categorems and axioms, and who pretend to give their readers such information and happiness from these studies, what the subject is and what the predicate—happy men,—who is there, I say, so pure of soul as to return even their enemies love for hatred, not only (which is most

moderate) not to speak ill of those who have begun to abuse them, but even to bless those who unjustly revile them; nay, to pray for those who attempt their very lives? Do not they always, on the contrary, persecute any that injure them, after the most revengeful manner, and always study a severe retaliation, making the matter an art of words, and not a rule of actions? But among us you may find unlettered men, handicrafts, and old women, though they cannot by words bring defence to our religion, yet adorn it by their moral principles, for they study not fineness of words, but practise the solidity of virtue: when struck, they strike not again; they prosecute not those who rob them; they are charitable to such as ask of them; and love their neighbours as themselves.

12. Could we then exercise such purity of life, if we did not believe there was a God who presided over mankind? No, certainly; but being thoroughly convinced that we shall one day give an account of our lives and actions to the great creator of us and of all the world, we choose such a gentle, meek, and generally despised method of life; assuring ourselves, that we can suffer no evil from our persecutors here, no, though it were the loss of our very lives, which can be of any value, compared to what we shall receive for a mild and benevolent and merciful life from our great judge. Plato tells us, that Minos and Rhadamanthus will judge and punish the wicked: but whether it be Minos and Rhadamanthus, or their father, this we say, that not even he shall escape the judgment of God. Shall they who say of this life, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die," and by death mean a deep sleep and insensibility—

Twin-brothers, sleep and death,—

shall they (I say) be thought religious, and to have any regard for God? But we who despise this present life as of little and short value, and are led by this only, to know God and his Word, what the unity of the Son with the Father,

and what the communion of the Father with the Son; what the Holy Ghost; what is the unity of these three; what the distinction of them who are one, the Spirit, the Son, and the Father;—we who maintain that the life which succeeds this is greater than can be expressed in words, which is prepared for those who keep themselves unpolluted from all wickedness;—we who have such a benevolence for all mankind, as not only to love our friends but our enemies—(“For if you love those,” he says, “who love you, and lend to those who lend to you, what reward have you?”);—shall we, who are such, and lead such a life, that we may escape a condemnation to come, be thought to live wickedly? These are our arguments, small and few out of many that are much stronger, that I may not be too prolix, for those who prove honey and buttermilk, prove, by a small part of the whole, whether the whole be good.

13. But since most of those who are so violent in accusing us are persons who know nothing of God, not even what a dream is, without learning, or knowledge of natural philosophy, or of theology, and place all piety in outward sacrifices, they accuse us because we do not worship the same gods as the generality of cities and states do. Be pleased, great emperors, to consider each branch of this charge against us: and first, of our not sacrificing. Surely the Father and Creator of this universe wants not the blood of sacrifices, nor the fragrance and steams of victims, nor the sweet scents and perfumes of incense; forasmuch as he is perfect fragrance itself, wanting nothing within, nothing without himself. The greatest sacrifice we can give him, is to study to know him, who stretched out and compassed the heavens, who fixed the earth as a centre, who gathered the waters together into seas, and divided the light from the darkness, who beautified the sky with stars, who commanded the earth to bring forth every green herb, who made all the beasts, and, last of all, formed man. When we thus contemplate God, the creator, the preserver and inspector of all things, by the knowledge and skill

with which he rules all things, and lift up holy hands to him, what need is there of any other hecatombs?

But they with sacrifice and soothing prayer,
With fat and frankincense appeased by men,
Who pray, whenever they transgress and sin.

Why must we offer holocausts, since God wants them not? We must offer an unbloody sacrifice, and bring a reasonable service.

14. It is altogether a foolish charge brought by them against us, about our not approaching and worshiping the same gods as the cities. But neither do they, who accuse us of atheism because we do not hold for gods the same as they hold, agree among themselves which gods are to be worshiped. The Athenians have erected statues to Celeus and Metaneira, as to gods; the Lacedæmonians to Menelaus, and have appointed feasts and sacrifices to him. The Trojans, on the contrary, who will not so much as hear of his name, worship Hector. The Chians have erected divine statues to Aristæus, thinking him both Jupiter and Apollo; the Thasians to Theagenes, who committed a murder at the Olympic games; the Samians to Lysander, notwithstanding so many murders and villanies committed by him; Alcman and Hesiod to Medæa; the Ciliicians to Niobe, and the Sicilians to Philip the son of Boutacides; the Amathusians to Onesilaus, and the Carthaginians to Amilcar. But the day will fail me before I can reckon up all the number of their deities. Since, therefore, they differ so much among themselves about their gods, why do they accuse us for not conforming ourselves to them? But is not the behaviour of the Egyptians in their ceremonies even ridiculous? For they beat their breasts in their temples at their meetings, for their idols, as if deceased, and yet worship them as gods? But nothing of this kind can be thought strange, for they deify brutes, and when they die shave themselves for them, bury them in their temples, and order public mournings. If, therefore, we are atheists, because we differ

from them in our worship, all cities and all nations must be so too; for no other nations adore the same gods as they do.

15. But supposing they worshiped the same gods, what then? Because the generality of mankind cannot distinguish between God and matter, what an infinite dissimilitude there is between them, and therefore pray to material images, shall we, I say, who make a distinction and difference between what is created and what is uncreated, what is existent and what is nonexistent, between what is the object of the understanding and what of the senses, and give to each its proper name—shall we come and worship dead images? If God and matter are the same, only different names of the same thing, we are impious in not worshiping as gods stones and wood, gold and silver. But if there be an infinite difference between them, as between the artist and the gross materials he works on, why are we accused? For, as the clay is to the potter (for the clay is matter and the potter is the artist), God also is a worker, and matter is the subject of his work. As the clay can form itself into no vessel without the skill of the potter, so matter without God, which admits of everything, cannot of itself assume distinction, figure, or ornament. But as none are so stupid as to prefer the earthen vessel before the artist, or vials of glass or gold before the smith, but, if it hath anything wonderful, attribute it not to the matter, but give all the praise of the beauty and usefulness of the vessels to the artist, so also with respect to matter and God; matter has not the glory and due honour of the disposition and order of the material world, but God, its almighty architect. So that, if we should esteem the forms of matter to be God, we shall seem not to know the true God, inasmuch as we do set on a par with him bodies that may be dissolved and perish.

16. The world indeed is beautiful: and by its magnitude, and by the disposition of its parts, and by its spherical form, comprising every figure, both those in the ecliptic and those round the pole. But we ought to worship not this, but its

*Sphe-
wore*

creator. For neither do the subjects of your empire, when they come with any petition to your majesties, neglect to make their humble application to you, the lords and masters from whom they must receive whatever they want, or turn from you to view and consider the magnificence of your palace; the royal dome they may cursorily look at, and admire the nobleness of the structure, but in their thoughts pay honour to you alone, as all in all. You princes, indeed, build your palaces, for your own use; but God created the world, not for his own use, as wanting nothing; for God is everything to himself, light inaccessible, a perfect world, spirit, power, and reason. If, then, the world is a perfect instrument, moving in harmony, I worship him who tuned it and strikes the notes, and is the prime cause of its music and harmony, not the instrument. For neither in the case of combatants, do they who dispose of the rewards crown the harps, and neglect the persons who played on them. Whether, then, the world be, as Plato says, the art of God, I adore the artist, out of admiration of its beauty; or whether, as the Peripatetics think, it be substance and body, we do not neglect to worship its first mover, God, and fall down to the poor and helpless elements, or absurdly adore corruptible matter with our spirit, which according to them is incorruptible. Or, if the powers of God be conceived to be the parts of the universe, we do not kneel and adore those powers, but God himself, the author and master of them. I do not ask of matter what it has not, nor, leaving God, worship the elements, which do no more than they have been commanded; for, though they are beautiful to look at, by the art of their maker, yet they exist by the nature of matter. Plato seems to approve this, for he says: "That which we call heaven and earth hath had many excellencies given it by the Creator; but, notwithstanding, these are corporeal, and therefore necessarily subject to change and dissolution." If then I admire the heaven and the elements of the art, I do not worship them as gods, knowing they are

in their nature corruptible; how then shall I adore as gods, statues and images, which, I perfectly know, men, like myself, have made? Consider this briefly.

17. But it is necessary for me, in making an apology, to show more thoroughly the reasons, that the very names of these gods are modern, and that these statues were made only yesterday, as one might say. You yourselves know these things well, as being conversant in all, and especially in ancient authors. I shall say then, that some men, as Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, were contemporary with those by them called gods. This Herodotus testifies. "Hesiod and Homer, who gave them their classification and their names, I am of opinion, were not above four hundred years more ancient than myself. These first framed a theogony for the Greeks, gave names to their deities, distributed their honours and arts, and described their forms." But images, whilst modelling, painting, and sculpture, did not exist, were not usual until Saurias of Samos, Crato the Sicynian, Cleanthes of Corinth, and Koré appeared. Drawing was invented by Saurias of Samos, who drew a horse from his shadow in the sun. Painting by Crato, who made the forms of a man on a whited board. Making of wax images was invented by Koré, who, being in love with some one, drew her lover's picture on a wall as he lay asleep; and her father, extremely delighted with the incomparable likeness, (he happened to be a potter,) cut out the outline, and filled it with wax. This image is still preserved at Corinth. To them succeeded Dædalus and Theodorus the Milesian, who found out modelling and the art of statuary. So modern are the statues and the working of images, that we can name the very artist of each god. Endyus, the scholar of Dædalus, made the statue of Diana of Ephesus, and that of Athena [*Minerva*], or rather Athela, as their mystics choose to call her, (for such was the old statue, made out of the olive-tree), and also the sitting figure of Minerva. The Pythian Apollo is the work of Theodorus and Telecles; the Delian Apollo and Artemis were made by Idec-

tæus and Angelion: Smilis made the Juno in Argos and Samos; and Phidias, the other famous statues. Praxiteles carved the statue of Venus the courtesan in Cnidos; Phidias that of Æsculapius in Epidaurus; and, to conclude, there is not any statue which is exempt from having been made by some man or other. If then these are gods, how is it they did not exist from the beginning? How come they to be later than the above-mentioned authors of them? How came they to stand in need of men, and their art, that they might exist? They are but earth, wood, and stone, curiously wrought.

18. But some say that these are in themselves mere images, but representatives of the gods; and that all dues paid to them, all victims offered before them, are referred to the gods and made to them; and that there is no other way by which we can approach the gods than this, forasmuch as the gods themselves are terrible to look at. And to confirm this, we are told of miracles wrought by these images. Come then, let us see what power there is in their names. I will beg of you, mighty princes, before entering upon this subject, to pardon me whilst I use true reasons, since this apology was undertaken not to expose the idols, but to clear ourselves of censure. I venture to offer to you a statement of our faith. For in yourselves you may see some resemblance of the heavenly kingdom, for as to you the father and son is subject all this empire, given you by God, for the king's heart is in the hand of God, says the prophetic Spirit [Prov. xxi, 1], so are all things subject to God and His Word the Son whom we know to be inseparable. Consider this then before all other things.

19. Those gods are allowed not to have been from eternity, but were every one of them born in the same manner as we are. This they all agree to; thus Homer sings:

Oceanus sire of gods, and mother Tethys.

Orpheus, who first invented names for them, and gave us their genealogy, and the history of their actions, and is thought to have delivered us the truest theology, from whom

also Homer took many things, especially such as related to the gods; even he too makes oceanus, or water, to be the origin of them all.

Old ocean, origin of all the gods.

For according to him all things sprang from water; first mud was produced from the water, and by both was generated the first living thing, the dragon, which had the head of a lion, and in the middle the face of a god, called Heracles, or Cronos. This Heracles, or Cronos, produced an egg of wonderful magnitude, which being made pregnant, was by violence of him who begat it broken into two parts; and the two parts being separated, the upper part near the head constituted the heavens, and the lower the earth. And now Terra, or the earth, came forth a goddess with a body; and Coelus uniting with Terra begat daughters, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos; and sons with a hundred hands each, as Cottys, Gyges, Briareus, and the Cyclopes, named Brontes, Steropes, and Argos, which also he bound in chains, and flung down to Tartarus, having learned that he would be dethroned by his sons; wherefore also Terra, being angry, produced the Titans.

Then mother Earth produced celestial youths,
Called Titans, from the fierce revenge they took
On starry Cœlus.

This is, according to those ancient poets, the beginning of their gods, and of all things else. For each of those who are accounted as gods was in the beginning. What of that then? If they did begin to be, as their own theologians confess, then they are nothing; for a thing must be either uncreated, and therefore eternal; or generated, and therefore corruptible: and it is not I who think this whilst the philosophers differ. "What then is that which always is, and has no beginning? or which is always produced, but never exists?" Plato, speaking here of things perceived by the mind and the senses, teaches that those which always have existed, perceived by the mind, are ungenerated; and those which have not so existed, the

sensible, are created, as both beginning to be, and subject to cease from being. And much after the same opinion do the Stoics speak, when they say, all things shall be destroyed by fire, and again exist, and the world have a new beginning. But if there be, as they assert, these two principles, the one operative, and a first mover, as providence; the other passive, and moved, as matter; and it is plain that the world, even though under providence, cannot subsist for ever, as being made, how can these gods live for ever, who are not self-existent, but originated? Or wherein are the gods superior to matter, who derive their natures from water? But neither do they even think water itself to have been the first origin of all things: and yet what can be composed of simple and homogeneous elements? (Matter necessarily requires an artist, and an artist matter.) Or how could the forms of things exist, without matter or artist? Nor is it reasonable to make matter more ancient than the gods, forasmuch as the producing cause must necessarily have been before the things produced.

20. If then their theology were absurd, so far as it teaches their gods to have had a beginning, and originated from water, when I had proved that nothing is generated, or made, that is not capable of dissolution, I might have met their other accusations. But seeing, on the one hand, that they have defined the forms of their bodies,—Heracles is represented by them in the form of a twisting serpent: the Titans are described with a hundred hands each; and Jupiter's daughter, whom he begat on his mother Rhea, or Demeter, or Demeter, to have had two eyes in the usual places, and two others above them in her forehead, with a bird's beak on the hinder part of her neck, and horns on her head: wherefore also Rhea affrighted at so monstrous a child, is said to have fled away, refusing to give it suck; whence also she is called mystically Athela, but more generally Persephone and the Maid [Koré]; not the same with Minerva, or Athena, who was called Koré from her blue eyes. And after this they

give us, as they think, an accurate account of the actions of their gods. Saturn castrated his father, flung him headlong out of his own chariot, and slew and devoured his own male children. But Jupiter put his father in chains, and threw him into Tartarus, as Cœlus had done to his sons before, and made war after this with the Titans for his empire. He pursued his mother Rhea, who declined his suit, and upon her changing herself into a female serpent, he changed himself into a serpent too, and had carnal knowledge of her, wreathing about her in what is called an Herculean fold; the memorial of which affair is preserved in the Caduceus of Mercury. Then he proceeded to ravish his own daughter Persephone, whom he also forced in the form of a serpent, and had by her a son called Dionysius. It was indeed necessary for me to say thus much; and now, what religion, yea, what good is there in these histories? or that we should believe Cronos, or Jupiter, or the Maid, and the rest, to have been deities? Is it the forms of their bodies? who of judgment or common sense can believe that a serpent was begotten by a god, as Orpheus tells us?

Phanes produc'd a strange and monstrous birth,
A fiery dragon from her sacred womb.
Her hair flow'd from her head; a lovely face
It was to look at, but the other parts
Down from her neck were of a fearful snake.

Who can worship Phanes himself for a god, yea, the eldest god, (for he was the first-born of the egg;) or can imagine he had the body or shape of a serpent? or that he was devoured by Jupiter, to secure the possession of his kingdom? For if these are in no wise better than the very beasts, they are not real gods, since it is clear, that the deity must be perfectly different from all terrestrial or material substance. Why should we approach to such as are begotten like to brutes, and whose shapes are both terrible and loathsome to behold?

21. And yet, if they said that these divinities had only

flesh and seed, and only animal passions and desires; even then it would be necessary to regard these descriptions as folly and worthy of ridicule, for the divine nature cannot be subject to anger, or desire, and sensuality, nor can there be the seed of generation in a god; but supposing they have forms of flesh, let them be superior to rage and anger; let not Minerva show herself

Wrathful at Jove, fell anger burns her heart.

or Juno be seen in such a rage;

Juno could not contain her rage, but spoke.

Let them be superior to grief;

Alas, my eyes do see the man I love,
Pursued round Troy's walls, and my heart doth mourn.

For I say that men who give way to rage, or grief, are of weak and rude minds; but when the father of gods and men weeps for his son;

Alas, Sarpedon, most lov'd of men,
Fated to fall beneath Patroclus' spear.

And, though he mourns for him, cannot save him from the danger:

Sarpedon Jove's son, not e'en he can save him.

Who would not blame the folly of those who worshiped the deity with such fables as these? or rather are they not atheists? Let them be flesh and blood, but let them not be wounded; neither Venus in her body by Diomedé;

Tydeus' great son gave me this grisly wound;
or in her heart by Mars,

Me, her lame husband, Venus daughter of Jove
Ever doth slight, and loves the blooming Mars.

And dipped beneath the face of his soft skin.

the god of battle, the assister of Jupiter against the Titans, is weaker than Diomedé:

With madding mind he burns in arms like Mars.

Be silent, Homer; God cannot be mad. But you describe
God as a blood-stained murderer;

Mars, Mars, the plague of men, all stained with blood.
and relate his adultery, and how he was caught in the
snare.

They went to bed, and slept; but round them fell
The bonds by wily Vulcan forged: their limbs
Could now no longer move.

Are not these impious absurdities which they throw into
their accounts of their gods? Cœlus is castrated, Cronos is
chained and flung down to Tartarus, the Titans rebel, Styx
is killed in the battle: and thus at length the gods are shown
not to be immortal: they are in love with one another, and
also with men and women.

Æneas, whom the golden Venus bore,
Got by Anchises in th' Idæan groves.

Are not the gods here in love? are they not subject to the
passions of men? If they were indeed gods, could they be
touched with concupiscence? or, if God by divine dispensa-
tion did take our flesh on him, is he at once a slave to lust?

Goddess or woman never in my breast
Kindled before so fierce a flame of love.
Not when I loved Ixion's wife, nor when
The fair-heeled Danaë, Acrisius' daughter;
Or Phœnix' daughter, famous from afar.
Semele, nor Alcmena fair, of Thebes.
Nor yet the fair-hair'd Ceres, beauteous queen.
Nor glorious Latona, nor e'en thee.

This was a mere man, a generated and mortal creature,
having nothing of a god in him.

But these gods are sometimes servants to mortals:

Hail palace of Admetus, where once I,
Although a god, sat at a menial board.

And feed cattle:

For here I came, and fed his lowing herds,
And kept this house.

Admetus then was a man superior to the god. O prophet and wise! Foreseer of the calamities of others, thou couldst not prophesy the death of thy dear boy, but didst slay him with thy own hand!

I thought Apollo's mouth e'er spoke the truth,
Divine, and true, big with prophetic skill.

Æschylus abuses Apollo as a false prophet :

The subject of your hymns this feasted God,
Who spoke these words, he 'twas that killed my son.

22. But these perhaps are poetical flights; and there is some natural explanation of these things, as Empedocles says :

Let Jove be fire, Juno the earth, and Neptune,
And Nestis too that pours the stream for man.

Let then Jupiter be fire and Juno the air, Pluto the earth and Nestis water; still fire, water, and air are elements; therefore none of them can be God, not Jupiter, nor Juno, nor Pluto; for all these elements owe their nature and origin to matter, which has been separated by God.

Fire, water, earth, and the mild fleeting air,
And harmony with these.

Without harmony these elements cannot consist, but would be dissipated by discord; how then can they be called gods? According to Empedocles, harmony is the principle, and to it all concrete things are subject. But the first principle in everything has the mastery. If then we make the power of the ruler and of the being subject to be the same, we shall give the same honour to corruptible, fleeting, and changeable matter, as to the uncreated, eternal, and ever-unchangeable God.

Let Jupiter be, according to the Stoics, fiery essence, Juno the air,—the name too here is, on comparison, found to agree—and Neptune water; or, let another interpretation be given to them. Some call Jupiter the Air of two natures, both male and female; others Opportunity which turns time to

success ; and is therefore alone said to have escaped the teeth of Time, or Cronos. But, with the Stoics, you may argue thus ; if you think the one God above to be eternal and uncreated, but that concrete things are according to the change of matter, or the spirit of God pervading matter according to its varieties, you make him to have different appellations, such forms of matter will become the body of God. But further, since elements are subject to conflagration, it is the necessary result that the names will perish together with the forms, and there will, consequently, remain only the Spirit of God. Who then can call those bodies gods, which, on account of their being material, are variable and perishable ? But as to those who say that Cronos is Time and Rhea the Earth, and that she conceived by Time, or Cronos, and brought forth ; wherefore also she is styled the mother of all things, and he is said to beget and devour them ; and that the excision of the parts is the intercourse of the male with the female, which cuts and casts seed into the womb, and begets the man, having in himself desire, which is Venus ; and that the madness of Cronos is the change of season, which destroys both animate and inanimate things, but that by chains and Tartarus is understood Time which revolves by means of the seasons and disappears : to these we answer, whether by Cronos is meant Time, it changes ; or the season, it revolves ; or darkness, or frost, or moisture, all these are alterable : But the Divine nature is immortal, immovable, and unchangeable ; and, therefore, neither Cronos nor any image of him can be God. But concerning Jupiter, whether he be the Air, born from Cronos, the male of which is called Jupiter, and the female Juno (and therefore styled sister and wife), it is changeable ; or, if by him is meant any season, it also revolves : but God never changes, nor comes to an end.

Why need I trouble you by saying more, seeing that you know better than I what is in each of these natural philosophers, and what have been the opinions of writers on nature ? Why should I mention Minerva, which they interpret Wisdom,

diffused through all things? Or Isis, by which is understood natural time, in which all things are born, and through which all exist? Or Osiris, who was killed by his brother Typhon, and whom his mother fought for, and found his limbs, and buried them; and whose tomb is to this day in being, and is called the tomb of Osiris? For, while men wander up and down among the forms of matter, they deviate from the true God, who is comprehensible by the mind only; and thence they deify the elements, and parts of them, giving them different names at different times. Thus Osiris killed, is interpreted the sowing of the seed * (whence, they tell us, at the finding of his limbs—that is, the fruits, mystically—they shouted to Isis, We have found him! let us rejoice together!). The fruit of the vine they call Bacchus, and the vine itself Semele, and the thunder the heat of the sun. And thus those who make mythologies about their gods do anything rather than explain the nature of them, not perceiving that what they say in defence of their gods confirms the accusations brought against them.

* Notwithstanding what is here said, and in most authors, concerning the multitude of gods worshiped by the Egyptians, some very considerable men, both of the ancients and moderns, have thought—the more intelligent among them believed—there was one God only; and this very story of Isis and Osiris hath been itself urged as a proof. The whole thing is thus, in the learned Cudworth: “Our second observation is this, that the Egyptian theology, asserting one incorporeal Deity, that is, all things; as it is evident that it could not admit a multitude of self-existent and independent deities, so did the seeming polytheism of these Egyptians proceed also, in great measure, from this principle of theirs, not rightly understood; they being led thereby, in a certain sense, *θεοποιεῖν*, to personate and deify the several parts of the world, and things of nature, bestowing the names of gods and goddesses upon them: Not that they thereby worshiped the inanimate parts of the world as such, much less things not substantial, but mere accidents, for so many real distinct personal deities; but because, conceiving, that God was all things, ought to be worshiped in all things (such, especially, as were more beneficial to mankind), they did, according to that Asclepian and Trismegistic doctrine beforementioned, call God by the name of everything, or everything by

For, what relation has Europa and the bull, the swan and Leda, to the earth, or air, that he should have foul union with those, or the air with the earth? The true fact is, the philosophers, failing to apprehend the greatness of God, and unable to raise their minds, by sympathy, to heavenly things, melted into the forms of matter, and sinking deified the changes of the elements; the same as if any one should honour the ship he sailed in, or any part of it, as the pilot. But as a ship is nothing, however well rigged, if wanting a pilot, so the elements, without the providence of God, would be of no use, however well ordered: for both the ship without a pilot cannot sail, nor can the elements move without a God.

23. You may here ask, since you excel all in intelligence, by what means can the idols perform wonders, if those are not gods, to whom those statues are erected? since it is absurd to think, fixed and inanimate images can do anything of themselves, without some mover. Now we grant, first, that there have been in several countries and cities, some surprising things done in the name of these statues. But though some persons may have suffered any calamity, and others gained

the name of God. And that the wiser of them very well understood that it was really one and the same simple Deity that was thus worshiped amongst them by piecemeal, in the several parts of the world, and things of nature, and under different names and notions, and with different ceremonies, is thus declared by Plutarch:—‘Isis is a Greek word, which signifies knowledge; and Typhon is the enemy to this goddess, who being puffed up by ignorance and error, doth distract and discern the holy doctrine (of the simple Deity), which Isis collects together again, and makes up into one, and thus delivers it to those who are initiated into her sacred mysteries, in order to deification.’ In which words, Plutarch intimates, that the Egyptian fable of Osiris being mangled and cut to pieces by Typhon, did allegorically signify the discernption and distraction of the simple Deity, by reason of the weakness and ignorance of vulgar minds (not able to comprehend it altogether at once), into several names and partial notions, which yet true knowledge and understanding, that is, Isis makes up whole again, and unites into one,”—*Cud. Intel. Syst.* p. 414.

—HUMPHREYS.

some profit through their means, we do not believe the operators of either to be gods. But in what sense you say statues do anything, and what those beings are who assume their names, and perform the actions attributed to them, we have carefully examined. In order then to show, who those are, who operate in those idols, and to prove they are not gods, it will be needful to bring some witnesses from the philosophers. And, first, Thales, as those who classify his doctrines, have discovered and testify, divides superior beings into three orders, God, dæmons, and heroes ; God he conceives to be the Mind of the world, dæmons he thinks spiritual beings, and heroes the separate souls of men, good ones of good men, and bad of bad men. Plato too, though he hesitates on other points, makes three orders of superior beings ; the uncreated God, the planets and fixed stars created for the ornament of the heavens, and the dæmons : concerning which dæmons, declining to give an opinion, he advises rather to acquiesce in what had been already delivered by other writers. " But to speak of the other dæmons, and to conceive their generation, is above my abilities ; we must listen to those who have spoken before, who, as being the offspring of the gods, as they assure us, must know best their own forefathers. We ought not then to disbelieve the accounts the sons of the gods give concerning themselves, though they do not prove them to us by probable or conclusive demonstrations. And since they declare they speak of matters peculiar to themselves, we should obey the law, and believe them. Thus then, according to them, I also shall both hold and state my account of the generation of the gods. Oceanus and Tethys were the children of Cœlus and Terra ; of whom were born Phorcys, Saturn, Rhea, and a great many others. And Jupiter, and Juno, and all those whom we every day hear styled their brothers and sisters, were begotten by Saturn and Rhea. And from these again a great many other deities." But could the great Plato, who had a notion of the eternal Mind, God, only comprehensible by reason, who gives him his dis-

tinguishing attributes, perfect existence, unity, goodness flowing from him, which is truth : and about the first power, and that all things belong to the King of all, and that all things were made according to his good pleasure ; and that he is the cause of all things, and the same with two and three, and that he is second in second causes, and third in third causes ; did he think it above his understanding, to discover the truth concerning gods said to be begotten of sensible bodies, the heaven, and the earth ? No, this must not be allowed : but since he knew it was impossible, that gods should beget, or be begotten, because whatever hath a beginning shall also have an end : but he knew too, it was still more impossible to undeceive the multitude, who have assented to fables without examination, and for this reason he says, “ It is above his abilities to find out or to inform them, after what manner those other dæmons were generated, since he could not discover or explain how gods can be born.” But as to what he says, “ Jupiter, the great ruler in heaven, driving his winged chariot, goes before, ordering and governing all things ; a host of gods and dæmons follow him,” this cannot be applied to Jupiter, son of Saturn. For hereby the great Creator of the world is meant, as Plato clearly enough expresses himself ; but he, wanting a more proper name, gives him the common appellation of Jupiter, not as peculiar to God, but for clearness ; since it was impossible to describe God according to his greatness to the vulgar, he aggrandizes the common phrase, adding the epithet Great, that he may distinguish the heavenly from the earthly, the uncreated from the created, which was younger not only than his parents Cœlus and Terra, but even than mortals, the Cretans, who hid him out of the way of being eaten up by his father.

24. But I need not before your majesties, who have dipped into every science, either make mention of the poets, or examine any other opinions, since I have thus much to say. If the poets and philosophers did not acknowledge one God, but did apparently always speak of these as of dæmons, or as of

matter, or as of men once in being, yet by such notions as these we should be justly annoyed, because we distinguish between God and matter, and their different essences, for as we acknowledge God, and the Son his Word, with the Holy Ghost, one as to their power, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; the Son to be the mind, the Word, and the wisdom of the Father, and the Spirit to proceed as light does from fire: So we have admitted there are other powers conversant about matter and by its means; one indeed, opposed to God; not that there is any contrary principle to God, as the notion of Empedocles was of discord and harmony, and night to day, as we see: Since even if there is anything opposed to God, it ceased to be, its nature being dissolved by the power and strength of God, but because to the goodness of God which is an inseparable property of his nature, and co-existent, as colour to a body, without which it cannot exist, (not as being a part, but as a necessary property, one with it and blended together, as yellow colour to fire, or blue to the sky) is opposed a certain spirit conversant about matter, yet made by God as the other angels were, and entrusted with the management of matter, and of its forms. For angels were for this end created, that they might preside over, and govern things made and put in order by God; that God himself might exercise universal and general providence over all his creatures, whilst the charge of particulars is committed to angels set over them; and as men were endued with free-will, and the power of choosing good or ill, (for you would neither reward the good, nor punish the bad, if virtue and vice were not equally in their power, and some were found faithful, and others unfaithful, in their charges), so also was the case with the angels. Some of the angels, by a right use of their liberty, continued such as they were created by God, and in due obedience to his commands: others, on the contrary, were disobedient to the nature of their being and to his rule; both the angel over matter, and its forms, and others, who were placed over things in this first firmament (we speak no-

thing as of ourselves, but only relate what our prophets have declared) : they fell into concupiscence, and the love of women, and became subject to the flesh ; but he grew negligent and wicked in the administration of the charge committed to him. And those, who thus fell in love with women, begat the giants so called. But be not surprised, if your own poetical history have something like this ; for worldly and religious wisdom are as different as the resemblance of truth is from truth itself : the one is heavenly ; the other earthly. For even according to him who presides over matter,

We oft speak lies, which bear the form of truth.

25. These * angels, therefore, falling from heaven, and keeping to the air and the earth, and not being able to raise

* Plato says very near the same thing, in his *Phædo* ; but we find a full record of this notion in Hierocles, and it is by him attributed to Empedocles and Pythagoras, as well as to Plato :

Κάτεισι καὶ ἀποπίπτει τῆς εὐδαίμονος χώρας ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φήσιν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος,

φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλητης

Νεῖκω μαινομένῳ Πέσυνος.

Ἄνεισι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔξιν ἀπολαμβάνει.

Εἰ φεύξει τὰ περὶ γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀτέρπεα χῶρον,

Ἐνθα φόνος τε, κότος τε, καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν.

Εἰς ὃν οἱ ἐκπίουντες,

. . . Ἄτης

. . . Ἀνὰ λειμένα τε καὶ σκότος ἡλάσκουσιν.

Ἡ δὲ ἔφεσις τοῦ φεύγοντος τὴν τῆς Ἄτης λειμένα πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπείγεται λειμένα, ὃν ἀπολείπον τῇ ὁρμῇ πτερορρύσειως εἰς γῆνινον ἔρχεται σῶμα, ὀλβίου

αἰῶνος ἀμθηεῖς.

Man falleth from his happy state, as Empedocles the Pythagorean says, by being a fugitive, apostate, and wanderer from God, acted with a certain, mad, and irrational strife, or contention. But he ascends again, and recovers his former state ; if he

Decline these earthly things, and wretched state,

Where murder, wrath, and troops of mischiefs reign.

into which place they who fall, wander up and down through the field of Até and darkness : But the desire of him that flies from this field of Até, carries him on towards the field of truth ; which the soul at first relinquishing, and loosing its wings, fell downward into this earthly body deprived of its happy life.—HUMPHREYS.

themselves again to heaven, as also the souls of the giants, the dæmons which wander up and down the earth, excite, the ones, the dæmons, such motions as are agreeable to their constitutions, the others, the angels, such lusts as they once pursued, and especially the prince of matter, as appears from the event, practises and deals in things which oppose and thwart the goodness of God ;

When I consider, doubt disturbs my breast,
If God or fortune guides the life of man,
For, contrary to hope and justice too,
Some are expelled in exile from their homes,
Without subsistence; others thrive apace.

The unequal distribution of adversity and prosperity makes Euripides doubt, to what he should attribute the regulation of human affairs : upon consideration of which, one might say,

When we see such things, how can we believe
There is a God, or law for men to follow ?

And hence, Aristotle hastily concludes, that sublunary things are not governed by Providence, though the eternal providence of God extends itself equally over the affairs of this world—

(Whether it will or no, the teeming earth
Produces grass to feed my lowing herds.)

whilst the particular Providence proceeds by truth, not by opinion, in the case of the worthy, and the others are governed by Providence by the law of reason according to the common constitution of their nature. Yet upon account of the dæmoniacal disturbances of such laws, and irregularities from them occasioned by the operation and energy of the opposite spirit, tempting men in different ways, from within and without, as particular persons, so also whole nations, specially and generally, according to the stated laws of matter, and their respective dispositions to heavenly things: Some persons, whose opinions are not trifling, have imagined this

world to have been created without any design or order, and to be guided and ruled by blind chance. But these men observe not how in every part of the world, there is nothing disordered or neglected, but each part made by rule, and therefore nothing breaks the regularity in which it was created. Thus, man keeps himself in proper order, according to the will of his Maker, hath one constant and certain manner of generation; keeps a certain shape of limbs, never transgressing its laws, and has a general and common term and period of life. Notwithstanding which, according to his own particular disposition, and according to the operation of dæmons that assail him, one man is differently moved and inclined from another, though all have a common reason.

26. Those, then, who tempt men to the worship of idols, are such of the above-mentioned evil spirits, as are delighted in the blood of sacrifices, and are imagined to lick it up. But those gods which are held in such admiration by the vulgar, and whose names the statues bear, as is easy to learn from their history, were men born: and that the dæmons have taken their names, is proved by the operation of each of them. Some cut off their members, as those who minister to Rhea; others cut and wound their bodies, as the worshipers of Diana; and she in Tauris commands strangers to be sacrificed to her. I forbear here mentioning those who cut themselves with knives, or whips, and the various kinds of these dæmons: For God does not command us to act thus unnaturally.

But when a dæmon aims to bring a plague
On man, he first infatuates the mind.

But God is perfectly good, and therefore is eternally beneficent.

But moreover, that those malevolent beings which operate after this manner, and they to whom the statues are inscribed, are perfectly different, we have the plainest proofs in Troas and Parium; the one of which cities has statues of our contemporary one Neryllinus, the other, Parium, those of

Alexander and Proteus. Alexander's tomb and statue are set in the Forum; all the other statues of Neryllinus and the public ornaments of the city, if they may be called ornaments to a city; but one of them is imagined to give cures, and cure diseases, and the inhabitants of Troas therefore sacrifice to it, and, on solemn occasions, gild it over with gold, and crown it with chaplets: the statue of Proteus, however, you know very well, threw himself into the fire at the Olympic games, is said to have the gift of prophecy. But the statue of Alexander,

Beauteous but ill-starr'd Paris, woman-mad!

to a beneficent and kind god, there are public sacrifices and feasts instituted. Which of them then is it, that performs what is attributed to the statues? Neryllinus, or Proteus, or Alexander, or is it the composition of matter? But the matter of these statues is brass, and what can brass do of itself? That may be altered back into any other form, as in Herodotus the statue of Amasis into a foot-bath. Or what good, I pray, can either Neryllinus or Proteus now do to the sick? for what the statue of Neryllinus is believed to effect is done while he himself is alive and at this time etc.

27. What then shall we say? Is it that some senseless and chimerical motions of the mind concerning some opinions, occasion them to form to themselves several idols and images, partly out of matter, partly of their own imagination and conception? The soul is most subject to this, when it receives and is affected by some influence from the spirit of matter, and looks not up to heaven and the Maker of the universe, but looking to earthly things is wholly depressed to the earth, becoming almost entirely flesh and blood, and no more a pure spirit. These absurd and wild motions of the mind produce idolatrous imaginations, but when the soul is of a soft and pliable nature, being disobedient and ruled in wholesome doctrines, void of all notion of the truth and without any knowledge of the Father and Creator of the

universe; and receives impressed upon it false opinions itself, the dæmons which are conversant about matter delight in the blood and nidour of sacrifices, as being receivers of mankind, make their advantage of these irruptions of the mind in the vulgar, invade their mind, excite imaginative apprehensions in them, as if occasioned by those statues. And howsoever the soul, as being immovably moved by reason, either foreseeing the future or regarding the present, those evil spirits arrogate to themselves the honour.

28. But perhaps it is necessary something should be said concerning the names of the gods. Herodotus and Alexander the son of Philip, in the letter to his mother, both are said to have conversed with the priests themselves. (Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes) assure us, the priests informed them they were mere men. "They at once assured us," says Herodotus, "that all they whose images there, were just such as they were represented, and very different from gods: that before these, who had been there were the gods who were kings in Egypt, and were with these men, and one of whom always presided over the others." And that Orus, the son of Osiris, by the Greeks called Apollo, after he had destroyed Typhon, they said to be the last who reigned in Egypt. By Osiris is meant Bacchus in Greek. Thus both the others and the last king of Egypt were men: and from these were derived the names of the gods among the Greeks: Apollo was the son of Bacchus and Isis, as the same Herodotus tells us. Apollo and Diana were the children of Dionysius [Bacchus] and Isis. Letona was their nurse and deliverer. These being conceived by a virgin birth were their first kings.

Partly out of ignorance of the worship of the true God, and partly in flattery to their princes, they deified also the queens. All the Egyptians, in general, sacrifice bullocks without blemish, but heifers and cows it was held unlawful to sacrifice, for they were sacred to Isis, whose im-

female, and horned like a cow, as Io is painted among the Greeks. And who should be believed in an affair of this nature sooner, than those who successively, from father to son, received with the priestly office this traditionary account? for it is not likely that the priests who magnified the idols, should falsely declare they were once men. Did Herodotus only assure us, the Egyptians had traditions of their gods as of men; when Herodotus says, "Their narratives about their gods, which I heard, I am not prepared to mention, further than only their names at the least," it is not necessary to listen to him as writing mythologically. But since Alexander and Hermes surnamed Trismegistus, who connects his eternal birth with them, and, not to be particular, many others, agree, there is no room for doubting that they had been kings, and were deified. Besides, the same appears from the most learned of the Egyptians, who generally worshiped the heavens, the sun, and the moon, but believed all the others to have been men, and the temples their tombs. Apollodorus also shows this in his book concerning the gods. Herodotus too calls their passions, or deaths, mysteries. In the city of Busiris, as I mentioned before, they keep a certain festival to Isis, and after sacrifice is performed to the deity, all the men and women, many thousands, are beaten, and after such an unseemly manner, as it is not lawful for me to utter. If they were gods, they must be immortal; if they were beaten, and those their sufferings be the mysteries commemorated, then they must have been men; as Herodotus himself says, "There are also the tombs of one whose name I do not deem it holy to name in such a matter, at Sais, in the temple of Minerva, close to the wall behind the shrine. Near it is a lake adorned with a stone vase of circular form, lined with stone, and, in my opinion, equal in size to that of Delos, which, from the roundness of its figure, is called Trochœides: in this lake are figures of his passions, which the Egyptians call mysteries of night." See Herodotus for this. Nay, not only the place where Osiris was buried, is shown, but

also the very embalmment. "Their embalmers, when any body is brought them, show those who bring them, wooden images of the dead represented in colours. Among others they have one they esteem very highly, whose name alone I dare not presume to speak in such a matter."

29. But the Greek poets and historians may also be quoted. Thus of Hercules :

Cruel, whom not the fear of pow'rs above,
Nor hospitable board for him prepar'd,
Deterred from killing Iphitus.

It is not to be admired if a person of this temper ran mad, and flung himself into the fire, and was burnt. Hesiod also speaks of Æsculapius :

The sire of men and gods in wrathful mood,
Darting his thunder from Olympus' top,
Destroy'd Latona's son.

Thus Pindar too :

E'en wisdom is a slave to powerful gold.
The golden bribe work'd in his hand and turn'd him.
But him for his presumption Jove destroy'd,
With ruddy lightning, and the thunder's stroke.

Either they were gods, and could not be covetous of money.

O gold, thou chief possession of mankind,
Exceeding all the love of child, or mother!

(For the Deity must be above the want or desire of anything; and cannot die.) Or they were men, wicked men, because they were illiterate, and covetous of money. Why should I here mention Castor and Pollux, or Amphiaraus, who but the other day, so to speak, have been raised from the condition of men, to the dignity of gods? Or Ino, who after her madness, and what she suffered in it, is now imagined to be a goddess?

Whom trembling mariners in tempests call
Leucothea.

And her son

They worship by Palæmon's sacred name.

30. For if even the most profligate men, and most hated by good spirits, have acquired the reputation of being gods themselves, and Semiramis, the daughter of Derceto, a lustful and bloody woman, is worshiped under the name of the Syrian goddess; and on account of Derceto, the Syrians worship pigeons, and Semiramis, because she, according to Ctesias, was changed, though this is impossible, into a pigeon, what wonder is it then, if princes, in the pride and power of empire, are, through the adulation of their subjects, worshiped as gods? This the sibyl, who is mentioned by Plato, confessed:

'Twas now the tenth revolving age of man,
Since when the flood burst forth on former men.
When Saturn, Titan, and Japetus reign'd,
Styl'd by succeeding times, the noble sons
Of Ouranos and Gaia, and so styl'd,
Because the first of human race.

Some men, again, were deified for their strength of body, as Hercules, and Perseus; and some for their art, as Æsculapius: and princes, either through fear of their severity, or love of their virtues, were worshiped by their subjects. Thus Antinous, not long ago, by the favour of your ancestors towards their subjects, obtained the honour of a god; and posterity, without any further examination, have admitted him as such.

Cretans are always liars, they presume
To show thy tomb, great Jove; but thou still livest.

Dost thou, Callimachus, believe his birth, and yet doubt of his death? Dost thou think to conceal the truth, by talking thus about his death to the ignorant? Canst thou look on the cave, and acknowledge him to be born of Rhea, and view his urn, and yet question his decease? Art thou ignorant that the only God, without beginning of existence, is the eternal One? Either, then, all the accounts the poets and his-

torians give us of the gods are false, and therefore all worship of them is useless (for if the tales about them are false, they do not exist); or, if the relations be true, of their births, amours, murders, thefts, castrations, and deaths by thunder, they are not now any more, they are deceased, they must have died, because they were born. How is it possible to believe one, and doubt of the other, when the poets give us the most plausible accounts they can of them? For those who thought them gods and whose business it was to give everything the most graceful turn, cannot be thought to forge anything about their adventures. I have thus proved, according to my ability, though not equal to the dignity of the subject, that we are not atheists, but believe in the Creator of all things, and his Word.

31. Our accusers further charge us with feasting on human flesh, and of incest: that they may seem to hate us with reason, and thinking by fear either to terrify us from our profession, or to inflame the rulers against us, by such an enormous charge, they trifle with men who know, that it is a custom come down from old time, and not new in our case. But both virtue and vice oppose each other. Thus Pythagoras, with three hundred more, were burnt: Democritus was banished from Ephesus; and Heraclitus, the Abderite, accused of madness. Thus also the Athenians put Socrates to death. But as their virtue was not lessened by the opinions of the vulgar, so neither is the integrity of our lives blemished by the indiscriminate calumny of our enemies. Before God we are of good report. But I will answer to these accusations against us; though, I believe, you, mighty princes, are satisfied that I have cleared myself by what has been already said: for, as you excel all men in intelligence, you know that those men, who make God the rule of all their actions, and study each of them to live unblameable, and void of offence towards him, cannot be supposed guilty of the least criminal thought. Had we no hopes beyond the present life, and these sensual enjoyments, there might be a probability we might follow the

dictates of flesh and blood, and be lovers of gain or pleasure. But since we know that God observes our thoughts and actions, both day and night, and are persuaded that he is light, and sees the hidden things of our hearts; and that, after being delivered from this mortal condition, we shall enjoy a happier, and eternal, heavenly life hereafter: (living for ever with God; not subject to change or passion; not like flesh and blood, though we may have them, but like heavenly spirits), or erring with the rest of the world, a worse fate, and in the midst of fire; (for God hath not made man like sheep and beasts of burden, as a momentary life, that we should perish, and be lost in annihilation); seeing this is our faith, it is absurd to suppose that we should study to commit such unheard-of wickedness, and voluntarily expose ourselves to be punished by the great Judge.

32. But it is no wonder our accusers charge us with such things, since they impute the same even to their gods, and call their lusts mysteries. But were they, in good earnest, so angry for bold and promiscuous intercourse, they ought to detest either Jove, who had children by his own mother Rhea, and his daughter the Maid; nay, married his own sister. Or Orpheus, the inventor of those tales which make Jupiter more bestial and execrable than Thyestes. For Thyestes also lay with his daughter, by the advice of the oracle, in order to preserve his crown, and to be avenged. But, certainly, we are so far from being promiscuous that we are not allowed even to look with the eye of concupiscence. For, says our Lord, "Whoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already with her in his heart." How can we be suspected of any breach of chastity, who dare not use our very eyes, otherwise than God designed them, that is, to be lights to our bodies, and who think, that to look sweetly, seeing that our eyes were made for other uses, is to commit adultery; and that we shall be judged for our very thoughts? For our doctrine is not under human laws, where we might be wicked and escape (we assured you in the beginning, that

we have received our law from God), but we have a law, which requires the most exact justice between us and our neighbours. Therefore, according to the differences of age, we esteem some as brothers and sisters, and others as sons and daughters. The elder we honour as fathers and mothers; and esteem it one of the greatest acts of our religion, to preserve chaste and unpolluted the bodies of those whom we call brothers and sisters, or by any other name of kindred. Our religion teaches us, "If any one shall return a kiss out of concupiscence;" and again, "a kiss is to be given with the greatest caution, as a kind of religious act; for if it be polluted with the least impure intention, it puts us in danger of losing eternal life."

33. Having, therefore, a hope of everlasting life, we despise the pleasures of the present life, and even those of the soul; and when we marry, according to the laws of our religion, it is only for procreation. As the farmer, after sowing his ground, waits for the harvest, and sows no more; so we make the getting of children the measure of our concupiscence. And among us, you will find many men and women, who continue all their lives unmarried, hoping thus to come to a nearer union with God. But if continuing in virginity and the state of an eunuch brings us nearer to God, but to indulge in impure thoughts and imaginations draws us away, we much sooner avoid those actions which we dare not think of. Our religion is not in the study of words, but the practice and teaching of deeds. We, therefore, continue in the same condition we were born in, or marry once only. For, a second marriage is by us esteemed a specious adultery. For, "Whoever shall put away his wife, and shall marry another, commits adultery," says our Lord; whereby he doth not permit a man to divorce the woman, whose virginity he had, and to marry another. For he who deprives himself of his first wife, nay, if she should die, and marries again, is a clandestine adulterer, and transgresses the decree of God; (for in the beginning, God created one man, and one woman) and he dis-

*See
Mar*

solves the union of flesh with flesh into one, for the purpose of compacting the race.

34. Seeing then that we are such, (O, why should I speak of such abominations?) we hear the words of the proverb, Does the harlot make the modest woman? Do they who keep, as it were, a market of fornication, and have set up for the young shameful resorts for all manner of base lewdness, and do not spare even the male sex, men with men working disgraceful deeds, who abuse in every way the most chaste and beautiful bodies, dishonouring that beauty which is the gift of God (for the beauty of nothing in the earth, arises from itself, but proceeds from the hand and will of God) : do they accuse us of the wickedness, which they are conscious of being guilty of themselves, and which they also impute to their gods, boasting of them as pure and peculiarly belonging to their gods? Adulterers and Sodomites accuse those, who make eunuchs* of themselves, or marry only once. Though

* The famous Origen is remarkable for making himself an eunuch, an action (as Dr. Cave says) very much commended by some, and condemned by others: concerning this, and the strict and severe chastity of the primitive times, Dr. Cave speaks thus, in the *Life of Origen*: (2.9.) "Justin Martyr tells us of a young man of Alexandria, who to convince the Gentiles of the falsehood of that malicious charge of incontinency, and promiscuous mixtures which they usually laid upon the Christians, presented a petition to Felix the President of Alexandria, desiring his leave that the physicians might make him an eunuch, which the President refused, as prohibited by the laws of the empire; as it was after by several provisos and canons of the church. This fact (of making himself an eunuch), though Origen endeavoured to conceal from some of his friends, yet did it quickly break out; and Demetrius the bishop, who now admired it as an heroic act of temperance, and an instance of a great and daring mind, did afterwards load it with all its aggravations, and bring it in as an inexcusable charge against him. I add no more concerning this, than that whatever Origen might do now in the vigour of his youth, and through the sprightliness of his devout zeal, yet in his more considerate and reduced age he was of another mind, condemning such kind of attempts, and soberly enough expounding that passage of our Saviour, which before he had so fatally misunderstood." Dr. Cave in the *Life of Origen*, p. 220.—HUMPHREYS.

they live like fishes, which devour all that comes in their way, the weaker always being the prey of the stronger, and that we eat human flesh ; that though there are laws which you and your forefathers have laid down to maintain justice, upon the most mature consideration (to deal in acts of violence contrary to those laws) ; so that now your governors, in the several countries and nations, are not sufficient to hear and determine the informations against us : us, who, when we are beaten, turn not away ; and, when we are reviled, must only bless. For it is not enough to be just (justice being to render like for like), but it is proposed that we should be good-natured and patient under evils.

35. Who then in his senses would say that we, according to such a profession as I have spoken of, can be murderers ? For before we can eat any man's flesh, we must kill some man. But as the former is false, so of the latter, if any of them be asked whether they have seen us commit anything of this kind, none can be found so lost to all sense of modesty, as to say he ever saw it. We also have slaves, more or fewer, from whom it is impossible to conceal our actions ; but none of them have ever, even falsely, witnessed against us any such thing. How can we be charged with killing a man or eating human flesh, who are unwilling to see a legal execution ? Who does not hold as of interest the combats of the gladiators with one another, and with beasts, such especially as are exhibited by you ? but, we think, looking with pleasure on such slaughters of men, is next to murder ; and, therefore, abstain from all sights of this kind. How then can we, who indulge not ourselves to see slaughters, lest we should contract guilt and pollution, commit murder ? How can we, who say women who cause abortion by medicines are guilty of murder, and shall answer for it before God, be thought to commit murder ? Is it not inconsistent for the same persons to believe the embryo in the womb to be an animal, and therefore the object of God's care ; and yet, when it is come to life, to kill it ? and never to expose our children, as thinking all parents who do so guilty of infanticide, and yet

murder them when we have brought them up? No, we are always alike and the same; always obedient to reason, and never try to tyrannise over it.

36. Who, then, that is persuaded of a future resurrection, would make himself the sepulchre of bodies which will be raised? It is not the act of the same men, to believe our bodies will rise again, and to feed on them as if they would never rise again. To think the earth shall give up her dead, yet that he who has buried a human body in himself shall not be obliged to restore it. The contrary, therefore, is probable, to suppose rather, that they who think they shall never give any account of their lives, good or bad, and that there will be no resurrection of the dead, but that the soul also perishes together with the body, and is, as it were, extinguished; they will abstain from no deed of wickedness: But that we, who believe God will bring every action into judgment, and that the body will be punished for being subservient to the irregular motions and desires of the soul, cannot be led by any inducement to commit the slightest sin. But if it seems to some a subject of ridicule to assert the resurrection of the rotten, dissolved, and departed body, let it not be imputed to us as criminal, on account of their incredulity, let it be only thought our simplicity. If we do deceive ourselves by such a notion, we injure no one: And yet, that the notion that the dead bodies will be raised, is not so entirely ours, but some old philosophers have hinted at it, it is superfluous to explain at present, lest I be thought to introduce matter foreign to my subject; speaking either of things perceived in the mind and by the senses and of their natures, or that the unembodied are earlier than bodies, and the intelligibles precede the sensibles (though we first have to do with the sensibles) compounded out of the incorporeal, by the junction of intelligible bodies, and of intelligibles.*

* The learned Dr. Cudworth, in his "Intellectual System," gives this account of these intelligibles and sensibles, *p.* 728. "If there be eternal truths, which were never made, and could not but be, then must the *rationes rerum*, the simple reasons of things also, or their intelligible

For there is nothing to prevent, according to both Pythagoras and Plato, but that bodies, after a dissolution, may be again formed of the same principles that they were first made of. But let this point of the resurrection be put off for the present.

37. But you, O most excellent, clement, and benevolent emperors in all things by nature and by education, and so worthy of the empire, give to me your approbation, seeing I have refuted the accusations against us, and proved that we are religious towards God, and inoffensive towards men,

natures and essences, out of which those truths are compounded, be of necessity eternal likewise. For how can this be an eternal truth, that the diameter of a square is incommensurable with the sides, if the *rationes*, or reasons, of a square, diameter, and sides, or their intelligible essences, were not themselves eternal? These are therefore called by Plato, not only 'Things which are always the same and unchangeable;' but also 'Things which were never made, but always exist;' and sometimes, 'Things that were neither made, nor can be destroyed;' sometimes 'Things ingenerable, and incorruptible.' Of which Cicero thus: 'Hæc Plato negat gigni, sed semper esse, et ratione et intelligentiâ contineri.' These things Plato affirmeth to have been never made, but always to be, and to be contained in reason and understanding. And though perhaps it may seem strange, even Aristotle himself also, notwithstanding his so often clashing with Plato's ideas, here really agreeth in the main, that the forms or species, or the universal intelligible essences of things, which are the proper and immediate objects of science, were eternal, and never made. Thus in his metaphysics; 'No man ever makes the form or species of a thing, nor was it ever generated;' and again, 'There is no generation of the essence of a sphere.'—And he sometimes calleth these objects of science, "an immutable essence, or nature." Lastly, where he writeth against the Heraclitics, and those other sceptics who denied all certainty of science, he first discovers the ground of their error herein to have been this; "That they supposed singular bodies, or sensibles existing without, to be the only things or objects of the mind, or knowledge." The original of these men's mistakes was this, "Because truth is to be looked for in things, and they conceived the only things to be sensibles, in which it is certain there is much of the indeterminate nature. Wherefore they perceiving all the nature of sensibles to be moveable, or in perpetual flux and mutation, since nothing can possibly be verified, or constantly affirmed, concerning that which is not the same, but change-

and pure in our souls. For who can seem to have a fairer claim to your royal favour than we who offer up prayers for your reign; that the son may succeed, as is most right, to the kingdom of his father; that your dominions may be still enlarged by all others submitting to it; that all your actions may succeed according to your wishes, and this too on our own behalf, that we may live a quiet and peaceable life under you, and show always a ready obedience to all your commands.

able, concluded that there could be no truth at all, nor certainty of science, those things which are the only objects of it, never continuing the same." And then he subjoins, by way of opposition to this sceptical doctrine of theirs, and the forementioned ground thereof, "We would have these men therefore to know that there is another kind of essence of things besides that of sensibles, to which belongeth neither motion or corruption, nor any generation at all." By which essences of things that have no generation nor corruption, he could understand nothing else but those intelligible natures, species, and ideas, which are the standing and immutable objects of science.—HUMPHREYS.

II. RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

ALL the opinions and notions of men concerning the truth of things that be, have a mixture of something false; not that it proceeds from any substantive principle in the nature of the thing, or from any fault in each particular subject, but is rather occasioned by the perverseness of some, who have honoured the bad seed [the tares] to the destruction of the truth. This appears very plain from such as have of old employed themselves in speculations of this kind, who differ both from the ancients and from their own contemporary, but not least from the confusion of the common notions concerning this subject. Men of such a turn of mind have left no sort of truth uncorrupted; not even the being, the knowledge, and the providence of a God, and the plain consequences thereof; nay, not the very things which delineate to us the law of religion. Some openly and once for all deny the truth about such things, and others give them such a colour as suits their inclinations.

It therefore is proper, I think, for those who discourse on these topics to make use of two lines of argument; the one, on behalf of the truth, the other, in explanation of it; on behalf of the truth, to those who disbelieve or doubt, in explanation of it to those who are of ingenuous tempers and receive the truth with good will. Wherefore in treating the subject now under debate, what is proper at each time must be observed with accuracy, our words be measured thereby, and our reasoning adapted thereunto; lest, if we should seem to use always the same method, we neglect convenience and the place suitable for each particular thing.

For, in the order of demonstration and physical conse-

quence, the arguments which prove any truth are always antecedent to such as only explain it: but with regard to what is convenient, vice versa, the demonstrative may precede the explanatory. For neither could the farmer with propriety commit his seed to the ground, before he had cleared the wild wood and such things as would hinder and choke the growth of the good seed, nor does the physician give the patient restorative drugs until he has expelled the existing disease or checked its advance; so neither can truth be established, whilst false notions keep their place in the mind of the hearers, and oppose the arguments of the teacher. Wherefore I also, looking to what is most expedient, sometimes place the arguments proving the truth before those which are explanatory of it, and in the same manner, with a view to what is fitting, it seems desirable to act in my observations on the subject of the resurrection: for on this subject also we find men who altogether disbelieve, but some who doubt, and some even of those who have received the first principles, who are as much perplexed as those who doubt: but, what is most unreasonable of all, that they have these feelings, though they have no occasion of doubt from the things themselves, nor can give any reasonable reason why they disbelieve or are in difficulty.

2. Let us view the matter thus. If every doubt does not arise in the mind spontaneously and from some inconsiderate thought, but with some good cause and grounds founded on truth, (for then it has good reason, when the thing itself, about which they doubt, seems to be doubtful: for to doubt those things that are not doubtful, is the part of men who have no sound judgment about the truth), then it behoves those who disbelieve or doubt concerning the resurrection, to state their opinion about it, not according to their own unreasonable fancy, or to gratify the intemperate, but either to deduce man's origin from no cause, (which indeed is also very easy to be refuted) or to refer the cause of things to God, to look to the hypothesis of this doctrine, and by it to

prove that the resurrection has nothing credible in it. But this they will do, if they shall be able to show, either that God can not or will not again join and form into the shape of the same men those bodies which have died, or are wholly in a state of dissolution. But, if they cannot do this, let them cease from this impious doubt, and from blaspheming what they ought not. For that they do not speak the truth in stating either his want of power or his want of will, I shall make clear from what I shall here say. A man's want of power is known to be such from the truth, either from his not knowing what is to be done, or from his not having sufficient power to do well what has been determined on. For he who does not know anything of what ought to be done, can neither attempt nor do at all that which he is ignorant of: and he who knows well what is to be done, and whence it may be done, and how, but altogether has not power to do what he knows, or has not enough power, will not attempt it at all, if he is wise, and considers his own power. But, if he attempts it unadvisedly, he will not accomplish his intentions. But neither is it possible for God to be ignorant of the nature of the bodies that will rise again, either as regards a whole limb or a part, nor where each of the decayed limbs goes, and what part of the elements has received the decayed part which goes to its kindred, although among men it may seem difficult to distinguish that which has been naturally again united to the whole mass. For he who was not unacquainted, before the particular formation of each, either with the nature of the elements that would be necessary, from which to form men's bodies, nor the parts of these, from which he was about to take whatsoever seemed suitable to the constitution of the human body, it is manifest that, after the whole has decayed, he cannot be ignorant where each is gone, of those things which he took for the completion of each. For as regards the order of things that prevails amongst us, and our judgment in the case of others, to know beforehand things that have not happened, is the greatest. But looking to the

majesty of God, and to his wisdom, both according to nature, it is equally easy to know beforehand things that have never been, and to know afterwards about things that have been dissolved.

3. And indeed as regards his power, that it is equal to the task of raising up bodies, is shown by the first creation of those same. For if he created the bodies of men, which were non-existent, at their first formation, and the principle of such; so, when they are dissolved, in whatever manner it may happen, he will raise them with the same facility; for this too is equally possible for him. And it is no detriment to the argument, whether we lay down the first principles as out of matter, or whether they make the bodies of men to have been formed out of the elements as principles, or out of seed. For whatever power is required to give shape to that which passes among them for shapeless, and to arrange in many and divers species that which is without species and unarranged, and to bring together the parts of the elements into one, and to distribute into many the seed which is one and simple, and to articulate that which is inarticulated, and to give life to that which is not alive, the same power can also rejoin in one that which has been dissolved, and raise up that which is overthrown, and make the dead live again, and change the corruptible into incorruption; or further, the same being, the same power and wisdom can distinguish and separate the parts of the human body devoured by whatsoever number of beasts, which are used to attack such bodies, and take their fill thereof, can separate them from the mass, and again unite them with the same limbs or parts; whether they have gone into one of those, or into many, and from thence into others, and even if, decaying in those same animals, they have returned to their first principles, according to the natural analysis into such.

And yet this is the main objection in some persons of considerable reputation for learning, who have attached undue weight to the doubts of the multitude.

4. These then say that many bodies of men drowned at sea, or in rivers, become a prey to fishes; many bodies of men slain in battles, or by other unhappy cause or casualty, are never buried, but devoured by beasts and birds, that the limbs and parts of bodies thus destroyed and incorporating with the bodies of many beasts, become by way of food parts thereof; and that in the first place it is impossible to distinguish them from the others. And in the second place there is another objection, that the bodies of such beasts as have eaten human bodies, as many at least as are fit for man to eat, are frequently eaten by men, and become amalgamated with the bodies of those who have partaken of them, necessarily therefore that those parts of the beast which were composed of human flesh, do now again incorporate, and become part of another human body, seeing that the beasts which were intermediate between the two convey what had been their food to those men of whom they themselves have become the food. Then to give this objection the most formidable appearance, they set out instances of such as have eaten their own children, in famine, or madness; or by some fearful deceit of their enemies, have eaten them for ordinary meats, the well-known table of Medea, Thyestes' tragical feast, and numbers of strange stories from all nations, Greeks and barbarians, are brought as instances: and from hence they conclude, as they think, the impossibility of the resurrection, since it is manifestly impossible that the same members should be part of several bodies, and rise with them; but either the limbs of the first cannot be brought together, since the parts that composed them have been transferred to others, or if these be given to the former, the latter will be in want of them, and be imperfect.

5. But this objection will appear to be entirely founded on their ignorance of the power and wisdom of God; for he hath appropriated a peculiar food and nutriment to every nature and species of creatures, and doth not permit every body, without distinction, to enter into union or composition with

any other; nor would the Almighty be perplexed with separating parts of different natures, could they be joined together; since he permits every creature to go through such active and passive properties as it was at first endued with; and sometimes suspends such laws of nature, and concedes or turns them for the executing any purpose that he will.

Moreover, our adversaries seem to be under a surprising ignorance of the nutriment and nature of creatures; or they would know that all food taken into the body does not become fitting nourishment to the body; several things, as soon as received into the folds of the stomach, are thrown up, pass through, or are otherwise discharged, so as not at all to admit of the first natural concoction, much less mix with the body nourished. As then the much greater part, even of things digested, and receiving the first change, mix not at all with the parts which receive nourishment, since some parts lose in the very stomach their nutritive power, and others are separated in the second change, and the action that goes on in the liver, and are thrown off elsewhere, for other purposes than that of nourishment. And since the change which takes place in the liver does not wholly tend to the nourishment of the man, but goes into natural superfluities, and sometimes the nutriment which is left in the limbs and parts of the body nourished turns to something else, according to the prevalence of that which is redundant or superfluous, and which corrupts or assimilates to itself whatever comes near it.

6. Since, therefore, the several kinds of animals are so different in their natures, and providence hath varied the food for each, as is most convenient to the species; and thirdly there being a purification and separation of the food according to the animal, it necessarily results that all which is not adapted for the aliment of the creature, is separated and discharged by some natural mode, or is changed to something else, as not being able to blend; and therefore that the power of the nutriment suits the nature of the animal; that this alone becomes pure nourishment, and if we give true names

to things, having passed all the various secretions and filtrations of the body, ought to be considered as the aliment of the creature; and whatever was noxious and destructive to the constitution, and was therefore discharged, all that load of sustenance taken into the stomach for its repletion and the sating of the appetite, is not, strictly speaking, to be styled nourishment. And no one can doubt that this is united to the body nourished, and blended and interwoven with all the limbs and parts of the body. But should any thing of a different nature be eaten by any animal, if that body be vigorous and strong, it will be expelled; but if it be too weak to effect this, such aliment easily gets the better and corrupts it, and turns to evil humours and noxious qualities, as contributing nothing proper or agreeable to the body nourished. We have a convincing argument for this in most animals, where it is observable, that pain, danger, and death are the consequences of any unnatural drug being taken in some fit of desire, it wholly destroys the body nourished; for all animals are preserved by what is proper for, and destroyed by what is contrary to, their natures. If then, together with the difference of animals differing in nature, their food also has been distinguished, and even of this not all that the animal gets, nor any chance portion of it, admits of mixture with the body, but that alone which has been purified by all the process of secretion, and has perfectly changed into union with each body and is fitted for the body nourished: it is clear that things of a different nature can never be blended with those bodies for which they do not form a suitable and correspondent nourishment: but either goes off by the belly, before it produces any other juice, crude and rotten, or if it remains longer, causes pain or disease difficult to be cured, corrupting also with it the natural food, or even the animal that requires the food: but even if it ever is expelled, by medicines, or better food, or by any natural means, it passes off with no little injury, because it has no harmony with the natural substances, by its being incompatible in its nature.

7. But generally, if we admit that the aliment (calling it so out of regard to custom) which enters from these things, although unnatural, is secreted and changes into some one of things moist or dry, hot or cold; yet even thus they will get no advantage from these concessions, since bodies which rise again, are composed again out of their own parts, but none of the aforesaid things is a part, or has the form or arrangement of a part, nor remains at all in the parts of the body nourished or rises with it when it rises, nor contributes anything towards the life, neither blood, nor phlegm, nor bile, nor breath. For neither will the bodies nourished then want those things, which they used to want, as the use of those things on which they were nourished has been taken away together with the want and corruption of the bodies nourished. In the next place because, even if one should suppose that the change from such food reached even to the flesh, not even so will it be the necessary result that the flesh just changed from such food, attaching to the body of any other man, tends again as a limb to fill up the composition of that man, seeing that the flesh which has received the addition of it does not always keep what it has received, nor does the addition made to it remain stationary to the place where it was added: but receives also much change in both directions, at one time harassed by toil and thought, at another time wasting with pains, or fatigue, or diseases, and by bad temperature resulting from heat or cold, because the humours, which change along with the flesh and the fat, do not receive their nourishment so as to remain what they are. Since then the flesh is liable to such changes, much more might one expect to find flesh that has been nurtured on improper food suffering in this way, at one time rising in a swelling and becoming bloated from what it has received, and then again throwing it off somehow or other, and shrinking, either from some one of the causes before named, or from several, and that there only remains in the limbs which it is adapted to bind together, or to cover or to nourish, that one food selected by

nature, and adapted to those limbs, with which it fills out the natural life, and the toils of life. But neither if the subjects now just examined are properly judged of, nor if the arguments insisted on by them are conceded and allowed, can what they say be shown to be true, nor can the bodies of men ever be blended with those of the same nature, whether from ignorance they have not perceived the taste, having taken part of such a body through the means of some other, or whether of themselves they have from want or phrensy been polluted by the body of one of their own kindred: unless at least any beasts in human form have escaped our notice, or such as have a nature blended out of men and beasts, such as the more daring of the poets have been used to imagine.

8. But why should I speak of those bodies which are not assigned as food to any kind of animal, but which are allotted, in honour of their nature, only burial in the earth, when the Creator has not assigned even any other animal as food for those of its own species, though in some others there is a natural food assigned them from animals of a different species? If therefore they are able to show that the flesh of men has been allotted to men for food, nothing prevents but that their eating one another should be according to their nature, as any other of the things conceded by nature, or that those who dare say such things, should luxuriate on the bodies of their dearest friends as most suited to them, or even feed those, who are most friendly towards them, on such kind of food. But if it be even impious to name this, and a most hateful pollution, that men should partake of the flesh of men, and more detestable than any other unlawful or unnatural feasting or other action, and if that which is contrary to nature can never become nourishment to the members and parts of the body which require it, and that which does not change to nourishment, can never unite with those parts which it is not calculated by nature to nourish, neither can the bodies of men ever mix with similar bodies, for which they are not naturally food, though they should often pass through their bowels, by

some most bitter calamity. But separating from the nutritive faculty, and being dispersed back to those elements from which they first drew their nature, they unite with them as long time as it may be; and being again separated from thence by the wisdom and power of him who adjusts every animal nature with its proper faculties; they are blended each suitably with each, whether burnt by fire or dissolved by water, or eaten up by wild beasts or any other animal whatsoever, or whether any part cut off from the whole body be dissolved before the other limbs, and being again united to one another, occupy the same place to the harmony and completion of the same body, and the resurrection and life of the body that is dead or altogether decayed. To extend this subject further would be unseasonable; for the decision about it is acknowledged, at least by all who are not half-brutes.

9. But inasmuch as many points are of use to our present discussion, I now beforehand ask of those who recur to the works of men, and the men who made them, who are unable to mend their works when broken, or worn out by time, or in any other way also destroyed, and then try to show that, as is the case with potters and carpenters, so God also never would be willing, nor, if he willed, would be able to raise again a body that is dead and decayed, and who do not consider that they thus affront God in the worst way, by comparing together the powers of those who in every way differ, or rather, of those who use these, the means and the artificial aids with those that belong to nature. It would be reprehensible to be serious on this subject, for it is foolish in truth to contradict such superficial and vain arguments. Far more reasonable and truest of all is it to say that what is impossible with man is possible with God. But if by these very things as probable, and by all the points which we have examined a little before, reason shows it is possible, it is clear that it is not impossible. Nor is it indeed foreign to God's will.

10. For what he is unwilling to do, must be so, because it is either unjust or unworthy. And again, that which is un-

just, is so with reference to him that shall rise again, or some other besides him. But that no one of these external or of those that are numbered among the living, is wronged is clear; for no intellectual beings can suffer any injury by the dead bodies being raised, their existence still continuing, and no loss or dishonour thereby accruing to them from the resurrection of the dead: nor can it be any detriment to irrational or inanimate creatures; for after the resurrection, they will not exist again, and no injury can be done to what exists not. But supposing they should exist, they would suffer no injustice by men's bodies rising again; for if now, in the present state of things, during their being enslaved to the power of man, and made subservient to the yoke, and to all kinds of service, they are not injured; much less will they suffer injustice, when man is raised immortal, and far above the indigent state of this life, wherein they will no more be obnoxious to labour. For not even if they were endued with the powers of reasoning and speaking, would they blame their Creator as being unjustly made inferior to man, and not admitted to be partakers of the resurrection; for creatures of such unequal natures, as man and beast, would be likely to have a different purpose assigned for each by the just God. Lastly, there is another reason why brutes cannot be said to have a claim of justice or to suffer injustice; because they have no sense of justice.

Neither again can the person raised be said in any ways to be injured. For man is composed of soul and body, and neither of these is injured; no sane man will say that the soul suffers injustice, because in saying that he will inadvertently include also the present life; for if, when it inhabited a body corruptible and obnoxious to pains, it then was not unjustly treated, much less will the soul be injured, when it hath appointed for its seat of residence a glorious and incorruptible body: neither can the body be injured; for if being corruptible, it was not unjust to unite it to an incorruptible partner the soul, it will not be unjust to unite both again, when both are incorruptible.

And lastly, it cannot be said to be unbecoming God's majesty to raise and join together bodies after dissolution; for since to make what is much inferior, to produce a body mortal and subject to pains, is not unbecoming God, it will be much less so to do what is superior, to renew the deceased body, free both from decay and from all passions.

11. If then from the premises which naturally come first, and their indubitable consequences, we have demonstrated the present question in all its parts, it is clear that the resurrection of the decayed body is a work possible to the power, free to the will, and worthy of the majesty of God. For by these were shown the falsity of the contrary opinion and the absurdity of unbelievers. Why need I say that the parts of this demonstration harmonise and cohere with one another? if indeed we may speak of coherence as if they were dissimilar; and ought not rather to say that what is possible to God, God can will; and that which God can will, is possible to him, and consistent with the majesty of him that wills.

But we have proved sufficiently in the foregoing observations that we must after different methods argue for and concerning the truth, and how each differs from the other, and when and to whom each is useful. But for the general good and that the present discourse may be uniform in its parts, I shall, from the same premises, or some of the same kind, here make a fresh beginning. The one argument naturally stands first, the second as it were is a body-guard to the first, clears the way, and removes all obstructions and impediments to the truth. For reasoning *concerning* truth, being necessary for the safety and security of mankind, is chief both by nature and order of method and by use; by nature, as being that which gives a knowledge of the subject; by order, as that which must exist at the same time, in and with the things reasoned upon; and lastly, in point of usefulness, as being that which procures security and safety to all that examine into and understand it: But all disputation *for* the truth of any object is inferior in nature and dignity; it being

less honourable to confute a false notion, than to establish the truth. It is second in order of method, because it has its strength against those who think erroneously : but erroneous opinion springs up from the over-sowing and the corrupt seed. But though thus they stand in the disposition of nature, yet such a discourse, *for* the truth, is often put first, and becomes useful, as rooting out infidelity, which troubles some, scepticism, or false notions, which stand in the way of new-comers. But to conclude this distinction, both are designed for the same end, both advance piety ; that which establishes truth, and that which detects error. Yet they are different from each other ; one is, as I said, necessary to all believers, and such as have any regard to truth and the salvation of their souls ; the other, upon some occasions, and with regard to the persons, is more proper to be applied.

Having then premised thus much briefly to remind the reader of what we have already said, I shall proceed to my subject and confirm the truth of the resurrection, by the following reasons. First, from the end and design of the creation of the first man and all his descendants, although they were not born in a similar manner : secondly, from the common nature of all men, as men : and thirdly, from their future judgment at the hands of their Creator with reference to the time each has lived and the laws he has lived by : and which judgment no one doubts will be a just one, which must be manifested in the distribution of rewards and punishments.

12. The first argument is drawn from the design of the Creator, where we are to inquire, whether man was made undesignedly and to no intent, or whether he was made for some purpose, and if so, whether he was made simply to live and persevere in the state he was born in, or to be of use : and if so, whether of use to his Creator, or to some other creature nearer to God, more favoured by the divine care than himself. And here, from a process of reasoning more widely, we find that no being acting with prudence, and urged

to action by reasoning judgment, can possibly do anything with forethought, and yet do it in vain; but either for his own advantage, or of some other whom he cares for, or for the sake of the thing he does, being moved to the production of it by some natural impulse and affection; as for instance (for I will speak by a similitude, that the subject may be clear): A man builds a house for his own use: he builds too stables for oxen and camels, or such beasts as are of use to him, each shed suitable for each: not for his own immediate use, as it appears, though the final cause be his advantage; the proximate is the security of the beasts which he protects. He begets children too, and not for his own profit or the advantage of others, but solely for their own sakes, that they may live and remain as far as is possible after him; thus compensating his own death by the succession of his children and of his descendants, and thus hoping to immortalise his mortality. Upon these motives men act. But God could not create man inconsiderately (for God is wise and no work of wisdom is in vain.) Neither did he create him for his own necessity, since God cannot want anything: and by him who wants nothing, nothing can be done for his own necessity. Neither did he lastly create man for the service of any of his other works. For no being endued with reason and judgment, can be thought to be formed for the use and service of a creature of either a superior or an inferior condition, but entirely for its own life and continuance. Nor can any other reason than this be assigned for man's creation; since on the one hand, immortal beings are naturally above all wants and necessities, and independent of men, for supporting their existence; and on the other hand, all the irrational creatures are subject to him; they all serve man, in the way for which each was created, and make not use of man as their property. It neither was nor is natural for the lordly and sovereign nature of man to be made subject to inferior creatures, or the rational being to be enslaved to the irrational, which by its own nature is incapable of governing.

If then man was not created undesignedly, and to no purpose (for none of God's works, made by his design, can be to no purpose); nor for any private emolument of the great Creator of all things, or that of any other creature; it follows evidently, that, according to the first and widest view of the matter, God's regard for man's happiness, and his goodness towards all his works, and his wisdom, must have been the only motives for his creation of man: And also, if we push our inquiry more closely, that his creatures might live, but not a momentary life, now born, and presently lost again for ever. So small a portion of being God may have allotted for reptiles, birds and fishes, and to all the irrational animals: But to men, who bear in them his own image, to whom he gave reason, and a capacity of judgment, God hath given too an eternal existence; that having arrived here to a knowledge of the Creator, and his power and wisdom, following law and justice, they might enjoy an eternity in the exercise of those things which they practised in their life, whilst fettered with their mortal and corruptible bodies. For those things which are created for the use of some others, upon the ceasing of those others, will themselves cease also, and not remain uselessly; since God cannot be thought to give existence to any thing in vain, and to no end or purpose. But if the existence of any creature according to its nature was the ultimate end of his creation, such creature necessarily can never be liable to any cause which will altogether obliterate its existence, since the same natural reason for its existence once, continues to prevail always. But since this is always seen in their existence, the animal that is created must necessarily be preserved, doing and suffering whatever belongs to its nature, each of its parts fulfilling its own duties, and the soul remaining undisturbed in its nature, and fulfilling its natural duties, which are to guide the impulses of the body, and to judge and measure whatever befalls by suitable standards and measures, and the body also continuing to be affected with natural objects, and to receive such changes as are proper for it.

And among other transmutations of age, form, magnitude, admitting also of a resurrection, which is also a species of change, and the last it shall endure, and changes those which then survive into a better state.

13. Relying upon this no less than upon those changes which are already passed ; and considering our nature, we content ourselves with the present necessitous and perishing life, as suitable to the state of this world, and certainly assure ourselves of an everlasting life hereafter. And this we believe, not vainly persuaded by men, nor deluding ourselves by vain hopes, but induced by the most forcible argument, even the very design of the Creator in the formation of man, of an immortal soul and corruptible body, and enduing him with reason, and the principle of preserving and improving such faculties as have been given him, as of advantage to life and his own rational nature, well knowing that he would not have made so glorious a creature as man, and given such excellences to him suited for immortality, if he had not wished his work to last. If then God created man for the enjoyment of a rational life, and for the contemplation of his magnificence, wisdom, and power in all the works of the creation, his existence, according to God's purpose and his own nature, must last as long as there is matter of wonder and admiration in the universe. Thus the end of man's creation proves existence for ever, and that proves the resurrection, since without the latter immortality would be impossible.

It appears therefore, from what has been said, about the end of man's creation, and the design of God, that there must be a resurrection of the dead. Having therefore examined into the reason why man was brought into this world, we are to consider what follows next in the order of nature or connection of the subject : to the cause of man's existence succeeds his nature, and then the just judgment of God following upon these, and, to conclude all, the end of life.

Having then sufficiently discoursed on the foregoing topics, I proceed to consider the nature of man.

14. Our demonstration of true doctrine or of anything proposed for examination, if it gain belief for what is said, must be drawn, not from abroad nor from particular dogmas and opinions, but from the more obvious and general opinions of mankind, or the sequence between premises and their conclusion: For the question is either about first principles, in which case we need only to be reminded of our natural feelings, or it is about the conclusions which naturally follow our first principles, and the sequence between them, where method is required to show what truly follows from those leading ideas; so as neither to neglect the truth, nor to fail of being right about it; nor to confound together things that are naturally classified and distinct, or to break the physical connection between them.

Whoever therefore doth in earnest desire to inform himself of the truth of the present question, whether there is or is not a resurrection of the dead, must first weigh exactly the sum and collective force of all the arguments offered to support the proposition, and what particular part of the demonstration each argument maintains; which is first, which second, which third, and which last in the chain. Let him then, in methodizing the arguments, first put the end of man's creation, that is, the reason or motive on which God created him; and then the nature of man created; not as being second in importance, but because the two, when joined together, will not be so easy to be understood, though they exist together and mutually conspire to establish the present doctrine. From these reasons, as from first principles drawn from God's works, the resurrection is clearly proved. But it may also be demonstrated no less from the consideration of God's providence; as appears in a just distribution of rewards and punishments, according to the actions of men, that their end may be correspondent to their lives. For several have supported the whole question on a third way of proving the

resurrection, from the necessity of there being a judgment; but this argument is shown to be false, because all who die rise again, but not all who rise will be judged. If the resurrection was only for just judgment, the holy and religious, and all such as have done good actions, would have no need to rise again, that is, very young children. But since it is allowed for all to rise, both others and those who died in early youth, themselves also prove that the resurrection is not grounded upon this principal reason, for the sake of the judgment, but on the design of the Creator, and the nature of the beings created.

15. Though the reason which has been now advanced on the foregoing argument, be enough to establish the certainty of the resurrection, as being what by natural sequence follows a dissolution of the body; yet, it is best perhaps not to shrink from any of the proposed arguments, but in harmony with what has been said, and for the benefit of such as shall not be able to go through with the rest by themselves, to show the force of each of the conclusions we have arrived at, and especially the nature of created man, which leads us to the same notion, and affords equal proof concerning the resurrection.

For if the whole nature of man be compounded of a mortal body and an immortal soul united, and God gave not either to the soul or body as two separate things, and without relation to each other, such a creation, or life, or general existence, but to man, that is to these two joined together; that these two integral parts, soul and body, with which men were born, and lived, should again, after life is ended, proceed together to some common end, it necessarily results that, as the living being, compounded of both, is one, combining the feelings both of the soul and of the body, and acts and fulfils all the duties of feeling and reason, that the union of these should tend to some one end: that all should concur in all respects, to one harmony and fellow-feeling in man, whether it be his birth, or his nature, or his actions and passions, or his life,

and the end suited to his nature. If there be one union and fellow feeling of the whole animal, both of those things which grow out of the soul, and those which are fulfilled by the body, there must also be one end for all these. And this will perfectly be done, if the same animal for which such a purpose was designed be raised in the same form; but the same animal will be raised, if the same parts be again restored in the same form; but the same parts will be according to the particular union, if the decayed members are again joined into the constitution of the animal: For the resurrection of the same man necessarily involves in it the resurrection of the same body that was dead and decayed; and it is impossible to conceive the natural junction of the same parts and the reformation of the same man, without the resurrection. Again, if understanding and reason were given man not only for the contemplation of sensible corporeal objects, but also of spiritual natures, and those glorious attributes of the Giver, his goodness, justice, wisdom; it follows necessarily, as long as those attributes, as long as the cause remains, so long will the effect, the powers of admiring and contemplating these, remain. But it is impossible they should remain, unless that nature, which was the proper vehicle of these properties, continue. But the accountable and rational creature, is man, not a soul subsisting by itself; man therefore composed of body and soul must exist for ever: but this is impossible, if there be no resurrection of the dead; for if there be no resurrection of the dead, the nature of men, as men, cannot exist. But if the natural man remain not, in vain hath the soul been made obnoxious to the necessities and passions of the body; and the body has in vain borne the restraint of the soul in the pursuit of its own pleasures, yielding to the government of the soul, and led like a horse by the rein: in vain were invention, understanding, the observance of justice, and the practice of all virtue given to man: in vain the institution and promulgation of the laws. To conclude all, in vain was all that has been done great and beautiful by man: nay, the very crea-

tion and nature of man was altogether vain. But if all the works of God everywhere, if all his gifts and graces are free from a charge of uselessness, then must the body be of the same lasting duration as the soul, according to its own peculiar nature.

16. Let it not here seem harsh, that life, which is interrupted by death and decay, is styled duration: for the word duration admits of various significations, there is more than one manner of duration as there is also more than one nature in the things themselves: for if each of the things hath its duration according to its own nature, such a sameness of duration, as beings incorruptible and immortal enjoy, is not to be expected in things of a lower rank: nor in the case of men is it right to seek that even state of existence that never changes, seeing that the ones, being immortal from the beginning, and continuing without end only by the design of the Creator, but that man has an invariableness of duration with respect to his soul, but with regard to his body doth by changing gain his immortality. This is the idea of the resurrection, on which having our eyes fixed, we bear contentedly the dissolution of the body, as the natural consequence of an indigent and corruptible life, and hope for a glorious and never-ending duration hereafter. Thus we neither liken our death to that of brutes, nor do we vainly equal it with the unchangeable duration of beings naturally immortal, lest, by doing so, we should unwittingly liken the nature and life of man to subjects wholly out of comparison.

Nor let us yet think it strange, that man's duration seems to be variable; nor let any one deny the resurrection, because the separation of soul and body, and entire dissolution of the parts of the body, break the continuity of existence. For neither do we refuse to term it life, when we sleep, and are in a state of insensibility, the faculties of the mind, the senses of the body, not exerting themselves; inasmuch as men have periodical times of sleeping, and somehow or other again rise to life: for which reason is it, I think, that some call sleep the brother of death, not as if by such expression there is

declared any natural generation, as if they both were derived from the same ancestors or father, but inasmuch as many of the same things are common both to the dead and sleeping: both are in a state of insensibility, ignorant of all who are present, and of all transactions about them, nay generally not so much as having a consciousness of being or of their own existence. If then we call this human life a continued life, which is so full of breaks from our very birth to our graves, so should we neither scruple to recognise the life which lies beyond our dissolution, and which introduces with it the resurrection, though it seems interrupted by the separation of soul and body.

17. For the nature of man, from the first, and by the first institution of the Creator, was made subject to variation, having an unequal life and duration, interrupted by sleep and death, and variations from age, where all things appear in such a constant flux, that when the first show themselves, others seen but obscurely press forward upon them.

Who could believe, unless convinced by experience, that there could be such powers in the simple and similar seed, that such diversities of form and bulk, bones, nerves, gristle, muscles, flesh, bowels, and other parts of the body should be stored up? should only want an evolution, and a distension, with other matter, to unfold themselves in such beauty and magnificence? And yet nothing of this appears to the eye in the moist seed. Nor do abundance of things appear in infants which show themselves in youth, nor in youth which are manifest in manhood, nor in manhood, which discover themselves in old age. But indeed of the aforesaid some not at all, and others obscurely show the physical sequence and the changes which arise in man's nature, yet all who are not blinded by vice or indolence in judging about these things, know that the sowing of the seed is the first thing to be done, and when this has expanded itself into members and parts, and the embryo has come to light, youth bestows on it stature, after which comes manhood; then follows a declen-

sion, till, in extreme old age, the body sinks and is dissolved. As then in this process the seed discovers no likeness of a man at first, nor the life shows any signs of death, when all the parts shall be dissolved again into their first principles; but the connection of natural events furnishes the proof, and forces us to confess the reality of what showed no such appearance; so much more does reason, tracing the truth from physical consequences, establish the resurrection, and is safer and stronger than experience in confirming the truth.

18. Of the reasons proposed for our consideration, and proving the resurrection, all are of the same kind, as springing from the same principle (which is, the origin of the first men by creation) but some of them are confirmed by the same first principle, from which they sprang, and others following the nature and life of men, derive their force from the providence of God on our behalf (for the cause of man's being, joined to the nature of man, derives its force from creation, but the question of his justice, according to which God judges those men who have lived well or ill, depends on the purpose of their being), these last spring from thence, but hang rather on Providence.

Having therefore now dispatched all the arguments of the first rank, I proceed to prove the same by the arguments of the second order, such as are drawn from the necessity of rewards and punishments, which must be distributed according to the deserts or demerits of men, at the end of man's life. But of these the first must come first: I therefore begin with showing the reason of a future judgment, adding only thus much to the consideration of the principle and the order which suits the subject; that those who believe the existence of a God, and his creation of man, must also grant, that all things are governed and ordered by his wisdom and justice, if at least they will abide by their own allowed premises, and, entertaining such opinions about them, they must hold, that all things on earth and in heaven are under the management and providence of God; that nothing secret or

visible, great or little, is destitute of his regard; for all created nature needs his providential care, and particularly every being is more immediately dependent on him for such things as he was naturally formed and designed for.

I shall not here enter into a philosophical dispute concerning the necessities of every creature, nor make any pompous display of them. For I do not think it an object of ambition to set down or distinguish, or enumerate what is suitable to each nature. Man, about whom we now discourse, is, unquestionably, as subject to hunger, necessitous of food; as mortal, he wants a succession of children; and as rational, liable to a judgment to come. Again, as man stands in need of food and descendants, the former to sustain life, the latter to perpetuate his kind; so is he also accountable for the same reason of food and of succession, it follows necessarily that, as food and succession are brought together, to the same also should be brought the judgment: I mean by "to the same," the man consisting of soul and body, who is the person to be rewarded or punished, for his good or evil actions. If by a righteous sentence the punishment is laid on the true actor; and neither the soul separately can be punished for sins committed in conjunction with the body, since the soul separate and distinct from the body could not be affected with sensual pleasures, food, or luxury, and the like :) nor can the body be properly punished alone, as being, when considered alone, incapable of law or justice: but man, composed of these two united, is proper to receive the sentence for such actions. But this due recompence for his actions he receives not in this life; the strict rule of retribution is not observed here. How many does experience point out to us who have lived in infidelity and wickedness all their days, without receiving any stroke of correction for such an impious life! And on the contrary how many who have lived a life adorned with every virtue, have been always in adversity, malice and detraction, bodily pains and all kinds of misery! Neither can rewards and punishments be properly adjusted

after death, without the existence of the body ; for when the soul is separated from the body, there is not the whole compound man, the body being dissolved, and all its parts scattered to the elements out of which it was taken, and no longer retaining the same shape, or form, or consciousness of the past,* it is evident that in the Apostle's phrase ; This corruptible and decayed body must put on incorruption, that the dead, being brought to life again by the resurrection, and the severed or wholly decayed parts again joined, may each receive the recompence of things done in their body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil.

19. With such as allow of a providence, and admit the same premises as we do, and then somehow or other fall from such just principles, the foregoing arguments, and many more such might be used, if the reasoning here delivered closely and cursorily be a little expanded. But with such persons as call in question first principles, a different method must be first used ; and we must fall in with their doubts, and propose such queries as these to them : whether the life and all the existence of man once for all is wholly neglected, and a dark cloud spread over the earth, covering in ignorance and oblivion men themselves and all their actions ? Or whether it is not the safer opinion that the Creator of all things, howsoever existing or arising, overlooks them, and is judge both of men's deeds and thoughts ? For if no cognisance is taken of men's actions, they are upon a level with the brutes ; nay, many of them are much more miserable, as restraining their passions and confining themselves to the practice of justice, piety, and the other virtues. Then the life of cattle and brutes is best : virtue is stupidity ; the threat of a future judgment highly ridiculous ; sensual pleasure must be man's chief good, and one common doctrine for all, and one law, namely, the known maxim of that profligate and luxurious crew, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. For according to them, the end of such a life is not a state of happiness or misery, but of utter insensibility. But if the sove-

reign Creator of mankind takes any notice of his own creatures; or makes any difference between those who have lived well or ill, it must be either in the present life, whilst they are still alive, living in virtue or in vice, or after death, when they are separate and under decay. But just judgment cannot possibly be found in either of these ways; for neither are the good rewarded, nor the evil punished in this life.

For I here omit to use another argument, that, from the very nature of man, and present constitution of things, it is impossible that he should have any punishment inflicted adequate to the greater number or the heaviest of his crimes. Suppose a robber, a prince or tyrant, should accumulate murders on murders, how can his single life pay for so many? We may give an instance further of one that has lived in an utter contempt of God, has taken up wrong and blasphemous notions of him, has despised all laws divine and human, has insulted both boys and women, has unjustly destroyed cities, involving houses and inhabitants in one common flame, ravaged the land, exterminated nations and peoples, or even a whole race: how can such an one in his mortal body, satisfy for such an immense villany? Death claims his due before he is punished, perhaps before his nature has sufficed to pay the debt of even one of his villainies. Justice therefore cannot exert itself in full force here in this mortal life; nor yet can it after death.

20. For either death is an entire annihilation, and the soul decays and perishes together with the body, or the soul remains indissoluble, incorruptible, and imperishable, whilst the body decays and perishes; no longer preserving a memory of former actions or perception of the passions it before felt. For if the life of man is utterly destroyed, no examination can be made into the actions of men that are not alive, nor judgment of those who have lived piously or wickedly. The evils of a lawless life will follow thick upon one another, with the whole swarm of untoward consequences, and even the grand impiety of denying the existence of a God. But if

the body were dissolved into its elementary principles, and the soul remained incorruptible, not even thus can judgment be passed upon it, because the rule of justice could not be applied. For it is impious to think God should judge, and not justly; but no just judgment can be made, where the party that has done the justice or the injustice is not forthcoming: for it was the man, and not the soul separately, which was the author of all such actions as then come under cognizance. In a word, this view of the matter will in no respect secure justice.

21. For both in the reward given to good deeds, the body will clearly be ill treated in participating with the soul in the toils of its good deeds, but by being deprived of its share of the honour and reward of good actions, and, in many cases, from the being pardoned for some of its misdeeds, through the necessities and wants of the body; and yet the body being unrewarded for the good deeds to which it supplied its labour during life. And, on the other hand, were all sins punished in the soul, that would be unjust; since she alone would then bear the punishment of crimes committed through the disorder of the body, which seduced her to peculiar pleasures and gratifications, at one time by persuasion and deceit, at other times overcome by some more powerful temptation, and at other times willingly yielding to the body's desires, in compliance to the weakness of her partner. How then can the soul be justly punished for such crimes as she could not possibly, by reason of her nature, be guilty of in desire, bias, or impulse, if separate and not joined to the body; such as luxury, violence, covetousness, and injustice, and the crimes that grow out of them? For if most sins proceed from men's not duly governing their troublesome passions, and they are provoked by the wants and necessities of the body, and the care and attention which it requires, (for the possession of riches, and still more their use, are for the sake of the body, as well as marriage and all the transactions of life, in which and about which we consider what is vicious and what is not)

how can it be just for the soul to suffer singly for such affections as were properly inherent in the body, and the soul hath only such a share in, as her union with the body doth necessarily oblige her to? Shall lusts, pleasures, fears, sorrow, and all criminal excess proceed from the body, and yet the soul only, which neither wanted, nor desired, nor feared, nor suffered anything of that kind, such as man is born to suffer, bear the whole punishment due to such crimes? But if we will, and perhaps with more propriety of speech, call them, not the passions of the soul or body separately, but of man, since his life is made of the union of them both; yet cannot these offences be charged on the soul when we plainly consider its proper nature. For if the soul wanted no nutriment, she could not desire such things as were perfectly useless to her nature; and as not desiring, she would not be eager to take from others any of such things, as she was naturally incapable of enjoying: nor would she be grieved for want of riches and possessions, as being things foreign to her. But if also she is superior to decay, she is incapable of fearing anything that might destroy her, for she fears neither famine, nor disease, nor mutilation, nor deformity, nor fire, nor sword, since none of these could either hurt or disturb her; since no body or bodily power can in any ways affect her spiritual nature. But as it is absurd to impute affections, such as the above-mentioned, peculiarly to the soul, so is it strangely unjust and unworthy God's judgment to assign the crimes arising from these and the punishments due to them, to the soul alone.

22. But, in addition to what we have said, is it not absurd that virtue and vice cannot be conceived as actions of a separate soul; (for we know virtues are the properties of men, as also their opposite vices, and cannot be conceived inherent in the soul separate and distinct from the body;) but that the rewards or punishments of good actions should be given the soul alone?

How can fortitude or courage be conceived as properties of

the soul only, which, upon account of its nature, can apprehend nothing terrible from death, wounds, maiming, punishment, ill-treatment, or the pains consequent upon these, or suffering from those pains? How can continence and temperance be imputed to the soul, which is incapable of desiring luxurious delicacies, sensual or other pleasures and gratifications, nor is excited by any internal or external object to provoke or excite it? How can prudence be imagined to be in the soul, since nothing to be done or left undone, to be sought or to be avoided, is left to her only, but rather no motion at all is found in her, or physical impulse to anything practical? In what sense can souls be said to exercise justice to each other, or to their kind, or to any other kind, since they have not the things or means whereby to exercise such actions as may be called just or equitable, excepting only a power of paying an honour due to God; nor have any impulse to enjoy their own riches nor to abstain from those of others? Enjoyment according to nature and abstinence are only properly imputed to such natures as are capable of making use of such objects: but since the soul cannot in any way want or enjoy such things, neither can she therefore be said to practise any such quality as that of attending only to her own interests.

23. Indeed this also is the most absurd of all, that a law should be promulged and given to man, and the punishments and rewards of disobedience or obedience to this law be given to souls alone. For if man, and not a distinct soul, received this law, the first therefore, and not the latter, ought to bear the punishment of disobedience. Since God did not command souls, but men, to abstain from such unlawful actions as adultery, murder, theft, rapine, disobedience to parents, and in general from all unjust, unlawful coveting the possessions of others. For the precept, "Honour thy father and thy mother," is not suitable to souls, such names belong not to them; for souls beget not souls, so as to claim the appellation of father and mother; but man doth man. Nor can "Thou

shalt not commit adultery," without absurdity be spoken to, or understood of souls; since in them there is no difference of male and female, nor adaptation or desire of coition. Since such a desire is impossible to souls, the thing is impossible; and where this is wholly so, not even a lawful union, as marriage, is possible, and, in consequence, lawless desire of other married women is impossible also, which is adultery. Nor is the precept against stealing or coveting the goods of others applicable to souls; for they have no need of such things, and they only, who want them for the supplying of their necessities, steal from others, or rob, such as gold, silver, cattle, or something proper for food or raiment: but an immortal nature regards not these things, which indigent creatures desire only because they want. A more complete discussion of these things may be left to those who require further explanation on the point, or would more effectually combat with our adversaries. The foregoing discourse seems to me to have sufficiently established the doctrine of a resurrection; it would be unseasonable to delay longer on these topics. For it was not here my intent to say all that so large a subject as the resurrection would furnish, but briefly, and in a close demonstrative method, to prove the truth of the doctrine, and to adapt the sources of argument which lead in that direction to the capacity of my hearers.

24. As I have then sufficiently discoursed on the foregoing arguments, it remains only, that something should be said of the inference to be drawn from this conclusion. This is a plain consequence of what has been said, and only wants here so far to be mentioned and dwelt upon, lest it might seem through neglect passed over, and the discourse not complete and uniform. For these and the like reasons, thus much shall be said on this head, that all the works of nature or art are formed to some peculiar end and design; as the common experience of all men and the evidence of their eyes clearly attest. The several orders of men, farmers and physicians, are appointed to different ends; and again plants

which grow from the earth, have an end different from animals, who feed upon it, and who propagate their own species : Since this is fact, and that all physical and technical powers and the practice of them have and pursue such peculiar purposes as they were appointed for, it follows, that man too must have an end peculiar to himself, and different from that of the generality of animals, proportionally as his nature is peculiar and distinct from theirs. For it is preposterous to put the rational nature of man, who works according to an implanted law and reason and who enjoys a life of prudence and justice, upon a level with irrational brutes. A state of insensibility cannot be the end for which man was designed, (for beings altogether without sense have that) ; nor can voluptuousness and a number of pleasures be the end for which man was appointed, or else the life of brutes is more excellent than that of man, and a life of virtue an imperfection. For I think such sensuality must be the chief end of beasts and cattle only, and not of man who has an immortal soul and rational discrimination.

25. Nor can the happiness of the soul, separate from the body, be the end of man ; for we were not inquiring about the life or purpose of each of those two parts of which man is composed, but of the compound of the two. For every man who enjoys this life is so compounded ; therefore the end, or result of that life, must be in accordance. If then the end of man, as consisting of soul and body, is demanded ; and it is plain from the reasons repeatedly laid down above, that no proper end can be found during his living here ; nor yet in a state of the soul's separation from the body, because, while the latter is dissolved, and its parts scattered through the whole mass of matter, such a man does not even exist, though the soul be allowed a distinct existence by itself ; it is absolutely necessary that the same compound being be again restored to life, the same man again raised, that the proper end and purpose of the men may appear ; and consequently the very same dead bodies, however their parts be

dispersed, must again be raised, and the same human beings be again put together : Since the law of nature does not lay down the end in general terms, nor as applicable to any men whatsoever, but of those very men who lived in the former life ; and it is impossible the same men should be raised, if the same bodies are not restored to the souls : and the soul cannot have the same body in any other way than by the resurrection. When this comes to pass, then will man have the end suitable to, and for which his nature was framed : And we may presume to say, that the end of a virtuous life and a rational nature, is to be through all eternity conversant with, and employed uninterruptedly about such objects as are agreeable to a spiritual nature, the contemplation of the great Being, and enjoyment of such pleasures and happiness as he hath promised to give for all eternity ; though the generality of mankind are far from considering this end, from being deeply and strongly pre-engaged in the affairs of this life, but the multitude of them that fail of it does not at all disprove the common end to which they were appointed : seeing that the inquiry about these things is incumbent upon every individual, and that reward or punishment will be distributed to every one, according as they have lived well, or ill.

II.

TATIAN:

HIS

ORATION AGAINST THE GREEKS.

1. BE not wholly influenced with hatred against the barbarians, ye men of Greece, nor be jealous of their doctrines. For what pursuit among you did not get its beginning from barbarians? For the most famous of the Telmisseans found out divination by dreams: Carians the art of foreknowledge by the stars: Phrygians and the most ancient of the Isaurians the flights of birds, Cyprians the art of sacrifice, Babylonians astronomy, Persians magic, Ægyptians geometry, Phœnicians education by means of letters. Wherefore cease to talk of inventions which are imitations. For Orpheus taught you to cultivate poetry and to sing; he also taught you initiation: Tuscans taught you to model; the records of chronology among the Egyptians taught you to compose histories. From Marsyas and Olympus you got the art of the flute. Both of them Phrygians, and rustics, framed harmony by means of the pipe, Tyrrhenians invented the trumpet, Cyclops the working of brass, and the lady who was once queen of the Persians, as Hellanicus says—her name was Atossa—taught you to fold up epistles. Lay down then this pride, and do not

put forwards fineness of words, for whilst you are praised by yourselves, you have your own households supporting you. But it behoves the man who has sense to wait for the testimony of others, and to agree together in the pronunciation of your speech : whereas now to you alone it belongs not even in your conversations to speak alike. For the speech of the Dorians is not the same with those from Attica : and Æolians do not speak like the Ionians. There being then so great a discrepancy, as ought not to be, I am in doubt whom I ought to call a Greek. For that too, which is the most absurd of all, you have given honour to those words which are not kindred to you, and sometimes making excessive use of barbarian expressions, have made your speech a jumble. For this reason I have bidden adieu to your wisdom, even though I was somewhat distinguished therein. For according to the comic poet

Such things are nought but small fry, senseless chatter,
And schools of swallows.

For you have formed rhetoric for the purpose of injustice and slander, selling for a price your freedom of speech, and oft-times setting forwards that which now is just, but at another time bad. And you have framed your poetry so, that you may describe battles, and feasts of the gods, and the destruction of the soul.

2. For what good have you brought forth by your philosophy? Which of your very best men is without arrogance? Diogenes, who displayed his self-sufficiency by the boast of the tub, after a raw meal of polypus, being seized with a pain in the bowels, died through intemperance. Aristippus, walking in a purple robe, was a spendthrift on credit. Plato, in the midst of his philosophy, was sold for a slave by Dionysius on account of his gluttony, and Aristotle who ignorantly placed a limit to providence, and very foolishly confined happiness to things in which he took pleasure, and flattered Alexander, not remembering that he was but a youth, who, in a manner

wholly Aristotelian, shutting up his friend, because he would not worship him, carried him about, as he would a bear or a leopard. He at all events wholly obeyed the doctrines of his teacher, showing his manhood and valour at feasts, and running his most intimate and dearest friend through the body with his spear, and afterwards weeping and denying himself on pretence of sorrow, that he might not be hated by his domestics. I would laugh at those who even now follow his doctrines, who, saying that sublunary things are not ruled by Providence, and being nearer to the earth than the moon, and lower than her orbit, provide for those things which Providence has neglected. But with whom there is no beauty, nor wealth, nor strength of body, nor nobility, with them according to Aristotle there is no happiness. So let such men philosophize.

3. For I would not listen to Heraclitus, who said "I taught myself," because he was self-taught and proud; nor would I praise him for having hidden the poem in the temple of Venus that the publication of it afterwards might be attended with mystery. For those also who have a care about such things, say that Euripides the tragic poet, coming down, and reading, diligently, by little and little set forth by memory the mystery of Heraclitus. Death proved the folly of this man. For being seized by the dropsy, and studying medicine like philosophy, he smeared himself with cow-dung, and when the dung hardened, and made wounds over all his body, he died in convulsion. For we must pass over Zenon who declares that the same men rise again through the operation of fire to the same occupations as before, I mean, Anytus and Melitus to be informers, Busiris to sacrifice strangers, and Hercules again to toil. He, in his account of this fiery ordeal, introduces more bad men than good, there being only one Socrates, one Hercules, and some other such men, a few and not many. For the bad will be found altogether more numerous than the good, and God, according to him, will be found to be the author of evils, and to be dragged among gutters and vermin,

and workers of deeds unspeakable. For the eruptions of fire in Sicily showed the arrogance of Empedocles, because, not being a god, he falsely claimed that which he was said to be. I laugh also at the garrulousness of Pherecydes, and the inheritance of his doctrine by Pythagoras, and the copying of it by Plato, though some will not have it so. For who would give his support to Crates as to his canine [Cynic] marriage, and would not rather set aside the proud and rash language of those like him, and turn to seek after that which is truly good? Wherefore let not the meeting of the philosophers, who are no philosophers, turn you aside, which hold doctrines contrary to one another: and each of them speaks out, according to that which comes into his mind. There are also with them many stumbling blocks: for they hate one another, and hold opinions opposed to one another, in arrogance choosing the highest places. But they ought neither by anticipation to court sovereignties, nor to flatter rulers, but to wait until the great men come to them.

4. Why then, O men of Greece, do you wish, as in a pugilistic contest, to set together governments against us? and, because I am unwilling to adopt the laws of any of them, why am I hated as most impious? Does the emperor command to pay tribute? I am ready to give it. Does the master command to serve and to obey? I acknowledge the service. For man is to be honoured as a man: but God alone is to be feared, who is not to be seen with human eyes, nor comprehended by human art. Him alone if I am bidden to deny, I will not obey, but will rather die, that I may not be proved false and ungrateful. God, our God, has not his beginning in time, being alone without beginning, and being himself the beginning of all things. God is a spirit, not extending throughout matter, but the Creator of material spirits and of the forms that are in matter: he can be neither seen nor touched, being himself the father of things perceptible and of things unseen. We know him by his creation, and detect by his works the invisibility of his power. I am not willing to

worship his creation made for our use. The sun and the moon were made on our account. How then shall I worship my own ministers? How shall I declare logs and stones to be gods? For the spirit, that runs through matter, is less than the divine spirit; and that which is likened to the soul, must not be honoured equally with the perfect God. Neither may we bribe with gifts God the unspeakable. For he who is in no need of anything, must not be falsely spoken of by us as in need. But I will explain our opinions more plainly.

5. God was in the beginning, and we have received that the power of his word was the beginning. For the lord of all things being himself the beginning of the whole, was alone in the creation not yet formed. But whereas he was the sole power and beginning of things visible and invisible, all things with him (for it was that they were with himself) by the power of his word, were upheld by him and the word that was in him. The word leaps forth by the will of his singleness; and the word, advancing not through emptiness, becomes the first-begotten work of the Father. Him we know to be the beginning of the world. But he was produced by participation, not by severing: for that which is severed is separated from the original. But that which is severed, having received the option of self-management, has not diminished that from which it was taken. But in the same way as many lights are kindled from one torch, but the light of the first torch is not lessened by the lighting of the many torches, so also the word proceeding out of the power of the Father, hath not left him that begat him destitute of the word. For both I myself speak and you hear; and yet by the passage of the word I who address you am not emptied of the word; but putting forth my own speech, I have set myself to furnish your unfurnished material. And as the word, begotten in the beginning, begat in return our creation, himself furnishing material for himself, so I also having been born again in imitation of the word, and having acquired comprehension of the truth, set right the confusion of my kindred matter. For neither is

matter without a beginning as God is, nor is it of equal power with God, on account of its being without a beginning, but is created and not made by any other, but produced by the Maker of all things alone.

6. And for this reason also we trust that there will be a resurrection of bodies, after the consummation of all things, not, as the Stoics dogmatise, according to certain periods of revolutions, born and dying always the same, to no useful purpose: but that it will happen once, when our age is brought to an end, and once for all, on account of the origin of mankind alone, with reference to the judgment. But our judges are, not Minos, nor Rhadamanthus, before whose death none of the souls of men, according to their mythology, was judged. But our arbiter is God himself our maker. For even if you think us altogether triflers and chatterers, it gives us no care, since we have trusted to this argument. For as, not being in existence before I was born, I did not know who I was, and only existed in the substance of fleshly matter, but when I was born, becoming what I was not before, I came to be persuaded of my own existence by means of my birth, in the same way he who is born, and then by death ceases to be, and again is seen no longer, I shall again be, as not formerly having been and then been born. And, if the fire destroy my flesh, the universe receives its evaporating material; and, whether I am consumed in rivers, or in seas, or am torn asunder by wild beasts, I am laid up in the treasury of a wealthy master. And the needy and the atheist knows not the things that are laid up, but God the ruler, when he pleases, will restore the substance which is seen of him alone, to its ancient state.

7. For the heavenly word, the Spirit born from the Father, and the word from the power of the word, in imitation of the Father who begat him, made man the likeness of immortality, in order that, as there is no corruption with God, in the same way man also, receiving a portion of God, may have also immortality. The word therefore is the creator of angels before

the making of men. But either kind of creation was voluntary, not having the nature of good, which only belongs to God, but is perfected by men by the freedom of their will, in order that the bad man may justly be punished, having become wicked through himself, but the just man be praised worthily on account of his good deeds, by his free will not having transgressed the will of God. Such then is the case as regards the angels and men. But the power of the word, having foreknowledge in itself of what was about to happen, not by fate, but by the voluntary choice of free agents, foretold the results of the future and became an obstacle to wickedness by its denunciations against it, but the approver of those who continued good. And when men followed after any one who was prudent beyond the others, because he was the first-born, and declared him to be a god, even one that rose up against the law of God, then the power of the word shut out from intercourse with it both him that began the folly, and those who followed him: and he who had been born according to the image of God, when the more powerful spirit departed from him, becomes mortal: but the first-born, by transgression and ignorance, is shown to be a *dæmon*, and those who had imitated his delusions left the camp of the *dæmons*, and by their free will were given up to their own folly.

8. To them men become a material of rebellion. For, showing to them a diagram of the position of the stars, as those who play at dice, they introduced a fate, a most unholy thing. For he who judges and he who is judged, have become so by fate, and both murderers and those they have murdered, and the rich and the poor, are the offspring of the same fate, and all nature affords them pleasure, like as in a theatre: among them, as Homer says,

The blessed gods joined in one endless roar.

For those who look on at single champions fighting, and encourage one on one side and one the other, and he who marries, and he who corrupts boys, and the adulterer, and he who laughs, and

he who is angry, and he who takes to flight and is wounded, how shall he not be deemed to be mortal? For by whatever means they have revealed to men what sort of persons they are by nature, by those very means have they urged their hearers to similar deeds. And have not the deities themselves with Jupiter their head fallen beneath fate, having been overcome by the same passions as the men? And besides also how can we honour those among whom is much opposition of doctrines? For they say that Rhea, whom those from the Phrygian mountains call Cybele, sanctioned castration for the sake of her lover Attis. Venus delights in the embraces of marriage, Diana is a witch, Apollo heals: and after the beheading of Gorgo, the lover of Neptune, from which the horse Pegasus and Chrysanor sprang, Minerva and Æsculapius divided the drops of blood between them, and the latter healed men by means of them, whilst the former from the same drops became the slayer of men and maker of wars. It seems to me that the Athenians, not wishing to disgrace her, also consigned to the ground the offspring of her union with Vulcan, in order that, as in the case of Atalante with Meleager, so also Minerva might not be thought to have been deprived of her masculine character by Vulcan. For that lame god, who made brooches and twisted ear-rings, as is likely, deceived with his trinkets the motherless and orphan girl. Neptune is a sailor, Mars delights in wars, Apollo is a harper, Bacchus reigns among the Thebans, Saturn is a tyrannicide. Jupiter has connection even with his own daughter, and his daughter becomes with child by him. Eleusis will now bear me witness, and the mystic serpent, and Orpheus who says—

. . . Against all strangers close the doors.

Pluto carries away the Maid, and his deeds have become mysteries, Ceres mourns for her daughter, and some are deceived on account of the Athenians. In the precinct of Latona's son is a place called the Navel: now the Navel is the tomb of Bacchus. Now I praise you, O Daphne; by defeating the incontinence of Apollo you refuted his oracular claims,

seeing that not knowing what would happen to you, he got no good from his own art. Now let the Far-darter tell me how Zephyrus slew Hyacinthus. Zephyrus conquered him, and according to the saying of the tragic poet,

The breeze, on which the gods most nobly ride,
he was overcome by a slight breeze and shot his lover.

9. Such like are the deities, they who have set the bounds of fate. Their element was the animal signs: for those which creep upon the earth, and those which swim in the waters, and the four-footed beasts upon the mountains, with which they took up their abode, when cast out from their place in heaven, they thought these worthy of heavenly honour, that they might both themselves be thought to dwell in heaven, and set forth their senseless sojourn on earth as sensible through these animals being made stars in heaven. So that the passionate man, and the patient man, and the continent and the incontinent, and the poor man, is from the same law-makers of nature. For the arrangement of the zodiacal circle is the work of the gods; and the predominant light of one of them, as they say, eclipses the greater number; and he who is conquered again now is used to conquer. The seven planets give them pleasure, like those who play at dice. But we are both superior to fate, and, instead of planets or wanderers for our gods, we have learnt to worship one God that never wanders, and as we are not led by fate, we have set aside its law-makers. Tell me, in the name of God, did Triptolemus sow wheat, and benefit the Athenians after his mourning? But why was not Ceres the benefactress of men before her daughter died? The Dog of Erigone is shown in heaven, and the Scorpion the helper of Diana, and Chiron the centaur, the Argo cut in two, and the she-bear of Callisto. How then? before these were engaged in their adventures aforesaid, was heaven unfurnished? To whom will it not appear to be ridiculous, that, according to some, the Deltotus was placed among the stars on account of Sicily, or according to others on account of the first letter of Jupiter's name? For why were not Sardinia

also and Cyprus honoured in heaven? Why were not the representations of characters for Jupiter's brothers, who divided with him the sovereignties, also fixed in heaven? And how is it that Saturn, who was fettered and cast out from the kingdom, is appointed the controller of fate? And how is it that he who reigns no longer gives kingdoms? Cast away therefore trifling, and do not, by hating us unjustly, commit injustice.

10. Metamorphosis is spoken of by men in mythology : among you even the gods are metamorphosed, Rhea becomes a tree, and Jupiter a serpent for the sake of Proserpine. The sisters of Phaeton become poplars, and Latona a vile animal, for which the island now called Delos was called Ortygia. Tell me, does God become a swan, and take upon himself the form of an eagle, and pride himself in pæderasty for the cup-bearership of Ganymede? Why worship gods that take bribes, and are angry if they do not take them? Let these have fate : I will not worship the wandering stars. What is Berenice's hair? Where were her stars before she the aforesaid died? How was Antinous, after death, placed as a beautiful youth in the moon? Who made him go up there? unless in the case of this man also, some one enlisted him among the gods, and thought him worthy of honour and gifts, in the same manner as, in the case of the kings, some one obtained belief, who for a bribe, and by perjury, and in derision of the gods, said that he had ascended into heaven. Why have you robbed God? Why do you dishonour his creation? you sacrifice a sheep, and yet worship the same : there is a Bull in heaven, and you sacrifice his own likeness. The Engonasi crushes the hurtful animal, and the eagle is honoured that devours the man-maker Prometheus. The Swan is honoured, because he was adulterous. Famous also are the Dioscuri who live on alternate days, the ravishers of the daughters of Leukippus. More famous is Helen, who left the yellow-haired Menelaus, and followed the tiara'd and wealthy Paris. Just and prudent was he who translated the

adulterous woman into the Elysian plains. But neither has the daughter of Tyndaris been made immortal, and Euripides has wisely introduced the death of the aforesaid lady by the hands of Orestes.

11. How then shall I admit the doctrine of fate, when I see such administrators of it? I do not wish to be a king, I do not wish to be rich, I decline the prætorship, I hate fornication, I do not seek to voyage for covetousness, I do not struggle to get crowns, I am free from a rage for glory, I despise death, I am above every kind of disease, grief does not consume my soul. If I am a slave, I submit to my slavery; if I am free, I do not boast my free birth. I see that there is the same sun for all of us, and death alike the lot of all, in pleasure or in need. The rich man sows, and the poor man has a share of the same sowing. The richest men die, and those who beg have the same bound of life. The rich always want more, and through credit are in honour. But the poor man and the most moderate, aiming at what best suits him, more easily succeeds. Why do you lie awake from avarice by fate? Why do you often strive after something by fate, and often die? Die unto the world, rejecting the madness that is in it. Live unto God, rejecting the old nature, by knowledge of him. We were not born to die, but we die from our fault. Our free-will destroyed us; free we became slaves, through sin we were sold. Nothing was made bad by God, it is we who brought forth evil: now those who brought it forth, are able again to reject it.

12. We know the differences between the two spirits, one of which is called the soul, the other, greater than the soul, is the image and likeness of God. Each of the two belonged to the first men, so that they should be partly material, and partly superior to matter. Thus it is. We may see the whole formation of the world, and all creation, made out of matter, and matter itself, founded by God, to the end that part of it may be perceived to be impracticable and shapeless before it is subjected to division, part arranged and

well ordered after division has been made in it. The heaven then, which is in it, is made of matter, and the stars which are in it. But the earth also, and all that is seen from it have the same origin, so that the generation of all things is common. These things being so, there are certain differences of material things, so that one thing may be more beautiful, and another, beautiful in itself, but outdone by something better. For as the constitution of the body is of one arrangement, and the cause of its existence is in it, and, these things being so, there are certain differences of honour in it, the eye one, the ear another, and the arrangement of the hair a third, and the arrangement of the intestines and the marrow, as well as the texture of the bones and the nerves, but each of these is different from the others, whilst there is a harmony of agreement in the arrangement, so also the world, according to the power of him who made it, having some things bright, and some unlike these, has received a material spirit, by the power of its creator. But to perceive these things severally is possible for the man who does not despise the divine interpretations, which, having from time to time been set forth in writing, have caused those who applied their minds to them to be altogether beloved by God. Yet even the deities, (whom you so speak of) having got their formation out of matter, and derived the spirit from it, were prodigal and gluttonous, some of them turning to the more pure, others choosing the worst part of matter, and regulating themselves according to it. You Greeks worship these, which were born from matter, and were found to be far away from good order. For the aforesaid, turning in their folly to vain glory, and casting off all restraint, were desirous of becoming robbers of the divinity : but the lord of all things suffered them to revel until the world coming to an end should be dissolved, and the judge be present, and all men, desiring the knowledge of the perfect God, amid the rebellion of the devils, might receive a more perfect testimony through trials on the day of judgment. There is then a spirit in the luminaries, a spirit in the angels,

a spirit in plants and waters, a spirit in men, a spirit in animals, but, though it is one and the same, it has differences in itself. Hasten then you who are willing to learn: we speak these things, not with the tongue only, or in plausible arguments, and with sophistical arrangement, but using the words of a more divine enunciation. And you who do not despise the Scythian Anacharsis, now also do not think it unworthy of you to learn among those who follow barbarian institutions. Make use of our doctrines, even like that power of divination among the Babylonians: listen to what we say, even as to the oracular oak. The aforesaid indeed are the counter-devices of devils, but those of our school are above the world's comprehension.

13. The soul is not immortal of itself, ye men of Greece, but mortal: yet the same is able not to die. For it dies and is dissolved with the body, if it knows not the truth: but it rises up again at the consummation of the world with the body, receiving death by way of punishment in its immortality. And again it does not die, even if it be dissolved for a time, when it has gained the knowledge of God. For in itself is darkness, and nothing bright in it: and this it seems is that which is said, The darkness comprehends not the light. For the soul itself did not preserve the spirit, but was preserved by it, and the light comprehended the darkness. The word is the light of God, but darkness is the soul without knowledge. For this reason dwelling alone, it bends down to matter, and dies with the flesh. But when it has got the alliance of the divine spirit, it is not without resource: but mounts to whatever places the spirit leads it. For the dwelling of the one is above, but the generation of the other is from below. The spirit indeed from the beginning was dwelling with the soul: but the spirit left the soul to follow it unwillingly. And she, having a sort of spark of the spirit's power, and not being able through its separation from it to see the things which are perfect, seeking after God, fashioned in its wanderings many gods, following after those counter-devising

deities. Now the spirit of God is not among all, but settles among some who conduct themselves righteously, and uniting itself with the soul, declares in prophecies that which is hidden to the other souls. And those souls which obeyed wisdom, drew to themselves a kindred spirit, but those which obeyed not, and rejected the minister of the God who suffered, showed themselves to fight against God rather than to be His worshippers.

14. Such like are you also, ye Greeks, smooth in words, but having a bewildered mind, and ye have cherished the rule of many rather than the rule of one, being used to follow after dæmons, as if they were powerful. For as the robber, of inhuman mind, by daring is used to seize upon his fellows, so also the dæmons, pushing on into much wickedness, have by ignorance and fantasies deceived the souls that were left solitary among you. They do not indeed die with ease, for they have no share in the flesh; but whilst living they practise the deeds of death and themselves die as often as they teach sins to those who follow them. So that whatever advantage belongs to them by their not dying like men, this comes back to them when they are about to be punished, and they will have no share in eternal life, but instead thereof receive death in a state where they cannot die. But as we, to whom now death comes easily, afterwards receive either immortality with enjoyment or pain with immortality, so also the dæmons, using the present life for iniquity, and throughout their whole lives dying, will have immortality similar to whilst they were alive, but in its nature similar to the men who enacted designedly whatever they had commanded them whilst they were alive. And do not fewer kinds of sin bud forth among men, on account of their living so short a time, whilst to the aforesaid dæmons greater iniquity hath resulted from the endlessness of their existence?

15. And it behoves us for the future now to seek again that which we lost when we had it, and to unite the soul to the holy spirit and to effect an union with God. The soul of

man indeed is manifold, and not single. For it is so set together, as to be manifest through the body. For neither could it ever appear apart from the body, nor does the flesh rise again apart from the soul. For man is, not as the chatter-tongues lay it down, a reasoning animal, capable of sense and knowledge, for, according to them, irrational beings will be shown to be capable of sense and knowledge. But man alone is the image and likeness of God. But I speak of man, not as doing things like the brutes, but as aloof from human nature, and advancing towards God himself. And on this subject we have put together more accurately in the book about animals. But for what now behoves us, we must state what that image and likeness of God is. That which cannot be compared is nothing other than the thing itself that is, but that which is compared is nothing other than the thing that has the likeness. Now the perfect God is without flesh, but man is flesh, and the bond of the flesh is the soul; the flesh holds the soul. If such a kind of nature be as a temple, God wishes to dwell in it through his representative spirit. But if the dwelling be not such, man surpasses the beasts in the articulated voice alone, and in other respects is of the same nature as they, not being the likeness of God. All the dæmons have not flesh, but they have a spiritual conformation, as of fire, as of air. But to those only who are guarded by the spirit of God, are the bodies of the dæmons easy to be seen; but to others, who merely have souls, never. For the less is unable to obtain comprehension of the greater. For this reason then the nature of dæmons has no place for repentance: for they are a sort of reflection of matter and of wickedness. Matter sought to obtain authority over the soul; and according to free-will the dæmons delivered to mankind laws of death: but men, after the loss of immortality, conquered death by the death of faith, and a call was granted to them through repentance, according to the word that said [Ps. viii. 4.], For they were made a little lower than the angels. But it is possible for every one who has been conquered, again to conquer,

setting aside the origin of death. But what that is, may easily be seen by those men who wish for immortality.

16. The dæmons who rule over men, are not the souls of men. For how could they be operative, even after death? Except unless a man, whilst alive, should be senseless and impotent, but afterwards, when dead, should be thought to receive a more efficient power. But neither is this so, as we have shown elsewhere, and it is difficult to think that the immortal soul, hindered by the parts of the body, becomes more prudent, when it is gone out therefrom. For the dæmons, revelling in their wickedness over men, by various and fallacious devices turn aside their minds downwards, so that they are unable to raise themselves and find the way to heaven. But neither do the things of the world escape us, and the deity is easy of comprehension to us, if there be given us that power which makes our souls immortal. But the dæmons are seen even by those who have mere souls, and sometimes show themselves to men, both that they may be thought to be somebody, or also may do some harm, as if to enemies, like friends of unfaithful mind, if they may furnish to those like them occasions of paying court towards them. For if it were in their power, they would wholly drag down heaven itself and all the creation with it. But now they by no means do this; for they are not able: but with the lower matter, they contend against the matter which is similar to themselves. If any one wishes to conquer these, let him reject matter. For armed with the breastplate of the heavenly spirit, he will be able to keep everything that is contained by it. There are indeed diseases and disturbances of the matter that is in us: but the dæmons themselves ascribe to themselves the causes of these, when they occur, assailing them when languor comes upon them. Sometimes also they beat upon our bodily constitutions with the storm of their own wickedness; who, if smitten with the word of God's power, retreat terrified, and the sick man is healed.

17. For what have we to say about the sympathies and

antipathies according to Democritus, save this, that according to the common account the Abderologist is the man from Abdera? But, as the man who was the cause of the name being given to the city, being a friend of Hercules, as they say, was eaten by the horses of Diomedes, in the same manner also he who boasts over the magian Ostanes, on the day of consummation shall be given over to the devouring of everlasting fire. And you also, unless you cease from laughter, shall meet with the same punishments as the magi. Wherefore, O ye Greeks, listen to me as if crying to you from on high, and do not, by ridicule, transfer your unreasonableness to the preacher of the truth. Suffering is not removed by counter-suffering, nor a madman healed by hanging up a whip. There are assaults of dæmons, and the man who is ill, and he who says he is in love, and he who hates, and he who wishes for vengeance, take these as their helpers. This is the manner of their device. For as the forms of letters, and lines made out of them, are not able of themselves to signify that which is composed, but men have made signs of their thoughts, knowing by the peculiar construction of them, as also the arrangement of the letters was ordered to be, in the same manner also the varieties of roots, the putting together of nerves and bones, are not operative of themselves, but are the foundation of the wickedness of the dæmons, who have distinguished the ends to which each of them avails. But when they perceive the service by these means received by men, they lay hold of such men, and make them to be subservient to themselves. How can it be good to minister to adultery? How can it be creditable also to come forwards and help men in their hatred? Or how is it honourable to assign to matter the remedy of those who are mad, and not to God? For by their art they turn aside men from worshiping God, teaching them to trust to herbs and roots: but if God had made those things to serve the purposes which men wish, he would be the author of evil deeds. For he made everything somehow or other good, but the intemperance of dæmons made use of the

things in the world to do ill, and to them belongs the character of evil, not of the perfect God. For how can I be by no means wicked whilst alive, but after my death, the remainder of me, which neither moves nor has sensation, effect any thing perceptible, whilst I do nothing? And how shall he who dies by a most wretched death, be able to minister to the vengeance of any one? For if this were so, much more would he repel from him his own enemy: for if able even to aid others, much more will he be his own avenger.

18. Medicine and every species contained therein, belong to the same art. For if a man trusting in matter, is healed thereby, much more will he be healed, if he rests on the power of God. For, as hurtful things are material compositions, in the same way also healing things are of the same nature. If we set aside the lower matter, it often happens, also that some seek to heal by the union of one of two evils with another, and so will abuse bad things to a good end. But, as the man who sups with a robber, even if he be not a robber himself, yet nevertheless shares the punishment because he ate with him; in the same way also he who is not bad, but is mixed up with one who is bad, and uses him to an end which is thought good, on account of his communication with that man will be punished by God who judges. For why will not the man who trusts to a material economy, trust in God? For what reason do you not approach to the more powerful master, but rather heal yourself, as the dog does with grass, the deer by the help of the viper, the swine by the crabs in the rivers, and the lion by means of the apes? Why do you make a god of those things in the world? Why are you called a benefactor, whilst healing your neighbour? Follow the power of the word. The dæmons do not heal, but take men captives by their art: and truly has the admirable Justin declared the aforesaid to be like robbers. For, as it is their custom to take some captive, and then to restore them for ransom to their friends, so also those who are deemed gods, assailing the bodies of some, and then by dreams

implanting the belief in their power, and bidding such to come forth publicly, in the sight of all men, when they have obtained the things of this world, they flee away from the sufferers, and extinguishing the disease which they were healing, they restore the men to their former state.

19. But you, who have not the comprehension of these things, learn from us who know. Whilst you say that you despise death, and cherish self-sufficiency. (For your philosophers are so far from this line of conduct, that some of them receive six hundred gold pieces every year from the Emperor of the Romans, for no good, that they may not wear their beards long for nothing. Crescens, who had settled himself in the great city, surpassed all in pæderasty, and was wholly bent on the love of money. But though he despised death, yet he so dreaded that same death, that he sought to bring death as an evil on Justin also (as he did on me); because in preaching the truth he convicted the philosophers of gluttony and deceit. Which also of the philosophers was he not wont to persecute except us alone?) If you say that you ought not to fear death, agreeing with our doctrines, do not die for human vainglory, like Anaxarchus; but for sake of the knowledge of God, become despisers of death. For the structure of the world is beautiful; but the mode of living in it is bad: and you may see those who know not God, received like stage-actors in the full assembly. For what is divination? Why have you been made to err by it? It is the minister to you of the covetous desires of the world. You wish to make war, and to have Apollo to advise you in the slaughter. You wish to ravish a girl, and choose a deity to help you in the struggle. You are diseased in yourself, and you wish to have the gods with you, like the ten counsellors of Agamemnon. One woman after a draught of water is mad, and becomes out of her wits from the use of frankincense, and you say that such an one delivers oracles. Apollo was a fore-teller of the future, and a teacher of diviners: yet he deceived himself in the case of Daphne. Tell me now, does an oak

give forth oracles, and again, do birds foretell? But are you inferior to animals and plants? It would then be well for you to become an oracular log, and to have the flight of the birds of the air. He who makes you greedy of money also gives you answers about getting rich. He who excites seditions and battles, also foretells to you about the victory in the war. If you are master of your passions, you will despise all the things in the world. Such are we, and do not hate us for it, but rejecting the dæmons follow the only God. All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made. But if there is also anything harmful in the things that grow, this has resulted from our sinfulness. I can show the image of these things: you only listen, and he who believes shall understand.

20. Even if you are healed by medicines, (I grant you this by courtesy) you must give your testimony to God. For the world still draws us, and for want of nerve I seek after the material. For the fledging of the soul is the perfect spirit, which when she has cast away through sin, she flies like a bird and falls to the ground, and alienated from the heavenly intercourse, she longs after the society of inferiors. The dæmons were removed from their home: the first men were driven out; the ones were cast down from heaven, the others driven from the earth, not this earth, but one better than our dwelling here. And from that time it behoves us, longing after our former lot, to set aside everything that may hinder us. For the heaven, O man, is not without bound, but bounded, and has an end. But above it are superior existences, which have no change of seasons, from which different diseases spring, but enjoying a perfect temperature, have perpetual day, and light unapproachable to men from us. Those who have worked out descriptions of the earth, have given an account of places, as far as was possible for a man; but being unable to speak of what lay beyond, through the impossibility of knowing it, they have blamed the tides and the seas, some choked with weed, others with mud, and the places, some

parched with heat, others cold and frozen. But we have learnt from the prophets those things of which you know nothing ; they being persuaded that the heavenly spirit, together with the soul, will gain immortality as a clothing of mortality, foretold things which other souls knew not ; and it is in the power of every one who is naked to get this ornament and to find his way back to his former kindred.

21. For we are not foolish, O men of Greece, nor do we put forth idle talk, declaring that God was in the image of man. You who revile us, compare your own legends with our narratives. Minerva, they tell us, was Deiphobus on account of Hector, and for the sake of Admetus the unshorn Apollo tended the curly-footed oxen, and the wife of Jupiter came as an old woman to Semele. Whilst you attend to such tales, how can you laugh at us? Your Æsculapius is dead, and he who revelled with the fifty virgins in one night at Thespiæ, is gone, having given himself to be eaten by fire. Prometheus, affixed to the Caucasus, received his punishment for his good work towards men. According to you Jupiter is jealous, and hides the dream from men, wishing them to perish. Wherefore looking to your own memorials, allow us also even if we have similar mythologies. And we indeed are not mad, but your accounts are mere fables. If you speak of the birth of the gods, you declare them also to be mortal. For why does Juno not conceive children now? Is it that she is grown old? Or are you in need of some one to tell it you? Listen to me now, O men of Greece, and do not allegorize your mythologies or your gods. For if you attempt to do this, you also yourselves do away with your own divinity. For your deities, if they are such as also they are said to be, are bad in character : or, if transferred to a physical nature, they are not such as they are said to be. But to worship the substance of the elements, I neither could be persuaded myself, nor would I persuade my neighbour. But Metrodorus also the Lampsacenian has discoursed very childishly in his book about Homer, referring everything to allegory.

For he says that neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Jupiter is that, which those think who have placed their enclosures and precincts ; but substances of nature, and arrangements of elements. And you will say that Hector also, and Achilles too, and Agamemnon, and all of them together, Greeks and barbarians, together with Helen and Paris, being of the same nature, have been introduced for the sake of the arrangement, though none of the aforesaid persons ever existed. These things we have put by way of hypothesis. For it is unholy to compare our knowledge of God with those who grovel in matter and mud.

22. For of what nature also are your doctrines? Who would not laugh at your public meetings, which are celebrated under the pretext of evil dæmons, and turn men into ignominy? I have often seen a man, and seeing admired him, and when I had admired, I have despised him, seeing how he is one thing inwardly, but outwardly he pretends to be what he is not, very effeminate, and in every way emasculated, with his eyes red, and with his hands groping and staring madly through his earthen face, and sometimes acting like Venus, sometimes like Apollo, one man accusing all the gods, an epitome of superstition, the calumniator of heroic actions, the enacter of murders, the promoter of adultery, and of rage after treasures, the teacher of catamites, the source of men's condemnation, and such an one praised by all men. But I rejected him lying in everything, both his impiety, and his pursuits, and the man himself. But you are led away and spoiled by these men, and revile those who do not take share in your pursuits. I will not open my mouth when many are singing, and I will not conform myself to one who nods and moves unnaturally. What wonderful or excellent thing is done among you? They snort out obscenities, and make indecorous movements, and your sons and daughters look on at those upon the stage who teach how men should commit adultery. You have noble audiences, proclaiming all the things which are done wickedly in the night, and delighting

the hearers with the utterance of base words. Noble also are your poets, who say what is false, and by their gestures deceive their hearers.

23. I have seen men weighed down with the care of their own persons, and bearing about with them a load of their own flesh, for whom prizes and crowns are set forth, whilst the stewards of the games call them forward, not for a contest of virtue, but a contention of insult and quarrel, and the man who is the best striker, carries off the crown. And these are the least of the evils. But who would not shudder to name the greatest? Some assuming slothfulness, from incontinence sell themselves to be put to death. And the poor man sells himself: the rich man buys murderers. Men who bear testimony to these take their seats, and boxers fight single combats for nothing, and no one goes down to lend his aid. Are such things done by you to your credit? For the chief man amongst you assembles together the band of murderers, boasting that he maintains a band of robbers. The robbers go forth from him, and you all come together to the sight as judges, now of the wickedness of the steward, now also of the combatants themselves, and he who is not present at the death is grieved; because he was not condemned to be the witness of wicked and impious and bloodstained deeds. Ye slay animals that ye may eat their flesh, and you buy men, furnishing to the soul a feast of human flesh, feeding it on most unholy blood-sheddings. The robber slays for the sake of getting, but the rich man buys gladiators for the purpose of being slain.

24. What does it contribute to my advantage that there is the mad man in Euripides who also tells the matricide of Alcæon? who does not even keep his own form, and gapes wide, and carries about a sword, and crying aloud sets himself on fire, and wears a robe not like that of man. Farewell to the fables of Hegesilaus, and Menander the poet for his sweetness of tongue. What is it to me that I was astonished at the mythic piper? what is it to me to busy myself with

Aristoxenus about Antigenides of Thebes? We give up to you these useless things, and you either listen to our doctrines, or in like manner leave ours for us.

25. What great or wonderful thing do the philosophers among you accomplish? They neglect one of their shoulders, letting their hair grow long, they cherish their beards, carry nails like those of beasts, and say that they want nothing: but, like Proteus, they want a tanner to make their wallet, a weaver to make their clothes, a carpenter for their staff, and on account of their gluttony they want rich men and a cook. O thou man that imitatest the dog, thou knowest not God, and hast turned aside to the imitation of brutes. Thou that criedst out publicly with confidence, becomest thy own avenger, and if thou canst get nothing, thou abusest; and philosophy becomes in thee the art of gaining. You follow the doctrines of Plato, and the sophist according to Epicurus opposes you openly. Again you wish to be a follower of Aristotle, and some one of the school of Democritus abuses you. Pythagoras says he was once Euphorbus, and is the inheritor of the doctrine of Pherecydes. But Aristotle opposes the immortality of the soul. Whilst you have such noisy successions of doctrines, you fight wanting unity against those who have unity among themselves. One says that God is a body; I say that he is bodiless: that the world is imperishable; I say it is perishable: that a conflagration occurs at times; I say once only: that Minos and Rhadamanthus are the judges; I say God himself: that the soul alone is immortal; I say with it the flesh also. How do we injure you, O men of Greece? Why have you hated as most polluted those who follow the word of God? With us there is no human sacrifice: you have become false witnesses who have been told so. With you also Pelops was made a supper for the gods, and the lover of Neptune, and Saturn devours his children, and Jupiter devours Metis.

26. Cease to triumph in the words of others; and like the jackdaw to adorn yourselves in feathers not your own. If

each city were to take away from you its own word, your sophistries would fail of expression. Whilst you ask what God is? you are ignorant of what passes among yourselves : whilst you are staring up to heaven, you fall into a pit. The arrangement of your books is like a labyrinth, and those who read them like the cask of the Danaïdes. Why do you divide the time, saying that part of it is past, part present, and part future? For how can the future have passed by, if it is the present? But, as those who sail upon the water, ignorantly think, as the vessel is borne along, that the mountains are running by them, so also you do not know that it is you who move on, but the age stands still, as long as he who made it wills it to exist. Why am I blamed because I speak for myself, whilst you seek to put down all my arguments? Were not you born in the same manner as we, having a share in the same administration of the universe? Why do you say that wisdom is among you alone, though you have not a different sun, nor different courses of the stars, or a more distinguished mode of birth, or death more noble than that of other men? The origin of your trifling were the grammarians, and you, who divided out philosophy, have been cut off from the true philosophy; and you have given over to men the names of those divisions. You also know not God, and fighting against yourselves you destroy one another. And for this reason you all are nothing, taking for yourselves the words of others, but conversing like a blind man with one that is deaf. Why do you hold the workman's tools, when you do not know how to work? Why do you lift up your voices, though you stand aloof from deeds? puffed up with glory, but humble in calamity. You make use of modes contrary to reason : for you made processions in public, but conceal your words in corners. Knowing you to be such we have left you, and no longer touch any thing of yours, but we follow the word of God. For why, O man, dost thou carry on the war of letters? Why do you pitch together their expressions, like as in a boxing match, by means of the

refinements of the Athenians, when you ought to speak more naturally? For if, though not an Athenian, you use the Attic dialect, tell me the reason why you should not use the Doric dialect. How does the one seem to you the most barbarous, but the other the most elegant for conversation?

27. But if you cling to their teaching, why do you oppose me when I choose the opinions of doctrines which I please? For how is it not absurd, not to punish the robber for the name that is given him, before you have accurately learnt the truth, but to hate us by anticipation of abuse without examination? Diagoras was an Athenian, but you punished him, for having betrayed the mysteries among the Athenians: and you who read his Phrygian books, hate us: possessing the memorials of Leo, you receive angrily our refutations; and you who have among you the opinions of Apion about the gods of Egypt, denounce us as most impious. The tomb of the Olympian Jupiter is shown among you, though some one may say that the Cretans speak falsely. The assembly of the numerous deities is nothing. Though Epicurus who despises them holds the torch, I do not the more conceal from princes the opinion of God which I hold concerning all things. Why do you advise me to falsify the sect? Why, if you say that you despise death, do you tell us to avoid it by art? I have not the heart of a deer: but the objects of your studies, are after the manner of the rash-tongued Thersites. How shall I believe him who says that the sun is a mass of fire and the moon an earth? For such things are a strife of words, and not a setting forth of the truth. Or how is it not foolish to follow the books of Herodorus in the account of Hercules, which declare that there is an upper world, and that the lion came down from thence, which was slain by Hercules? What will be the good of the Attic style, and the sorites of the philosophers, and the force of syllogisms, and measurements of the earth, and the positions of the stars, and the courses of the sun? For to be engaged about such an inquiry, is the deed of a man who enacts dogmas for himself.

28. Wherefore also I have despised your legislation. For there ought to be one rule and common to all. But now there are as many legislations as there are kinds of states, so that the things which are base among some, are good amongst others. For instance the Greeks think that one should abstain from marrying his mother, but such a practice is most honourable among the magi of the Persians. And pæderasty is condemned among the barbarians, but is deemed worthy of high honour by the Romans, who endeavour to collect together troops of boys like mares in a meadow.

29. Seeing these things then, and moreover also having taken part in the mysteries, and having tried the forms of worship among all, established by emasculated androgynous wretches, and having found that among the Romans the Jupiter Latiaris delights in the offerings of men and in the blood of human sacrifices, and that Diana not far from Megalopolis maintained the appearance of similar deeds, and that different deities in different places practised schemes of evil-doing, retiring within myself, I asked, In what manner can I find out the truth? and as I was revolving those things which are good, I happened to light upon some barbarian writings, of greater antiquity compared with the doctrines of the Greeks, and of a more divine nature, in contrast with their errors. And it happened to me to be convinced by them, both on account of the modesty of the style, and their ingenuous manner of speaking, and the intelligible character of the creation of all things, and the foretelling of future events, and the superiority of the precepts, and the ruling character of everything. But my soul becoming taught by God, I perceived that some things had the nature of judgment, that others did away with the slavery in the world, and rescued us from many rulers and innumerable tyrants, and gave us not what we had not already received, but what, though we had received, yet we were prevented by error from having.

30. Having been initiated and taught by the perception of these things, I wish to strip myself like infant children. For

we know that the nature of wickedness is like that of the smallest seeds, seeing that it grows strong by a small occasion, and again will be shaken if we obey the words of God, and do not waste ourselves. For it hath assailed us by means of some hidden treasure, which as we dug up, we were filled with dust indeed, but we give to him the occasion of strengthening himself. For taking everything as his own possession, he has got the power over honoured riches. Let this be looked upon as said to our own people. But to you the Greeks, what other than not to revile your betters, nor, though they are called barbarians, to take this as an occasion of evil-speaking. For you will be able, if you are willing, to find the cause of all not being able to understand each other's dialect. For, being willing to sift our doctrines, I will make for you an easy and abundant description.

31. But now I think it behoves me to present our philosophy as older than the doctrines of the Greeks. Our starting points shall be Moses and Homer, by reason that each of these is the oldest, and that the one of these is the oldest of poets and historians, the other is the leader of all barbarian learning. And now let them be brought together for comparison. For we shall find that our writings are earlier not only than the learning of the Greeks, but moreover also than the invention of letters. But I will not take those among ourselves as witnesses, but will rather use the aid of Greeks. For the one is senseless, because they are not even admitted by you, but the other would be shown to be admirable, when, opposing you by your own arms, I take from you arguments which are undoubted among you. For concerning the poetry of Homer, and his birth, and the time when he flourished, has been inquired into by the most ancient writers, Theagenes of Rhegium, who lived in the time of Cambyses, and Stesimbrotus of Thasus, and Antimachus of Colophon, and Herodotus of Halicarnassus, and Dionysius of Olynthus; after them, Ephorus of Cuma, and Philochorus of Athens, and Megacledes and Chamæleon, who were Peripatetics: then

the grammarians, Zenodotus, Aristophanes, Callimachus, Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, Apollodorus. But of these the followers of Crates say that he flourished before the Return of the Heraclidæ, within the eighty years after the Trojan war. But the followers of Eratosthenes after the hundredth year from the taking of Troy. But the followers of Aristarchus say, at the time of the Ionic migration, which is an hundred and forty years after the war of Ilium. Philochorus says after the Ionic migration, in the time of Archipus archon at Athens, an hundred and eighty years after the war of Ilium. But the followers of Apollodorus, an hundred years after the Ionic migration: which would be two hundred and forty years after the war of Ilium. Some have said that he lived before the Olympiads, that is four hundred and ninety years after the taking of Troy. Others have brought the time lower saying that Homer was coeval with Archilochus. But Archilochus flourished about the twenty-third Olympiad, in the time of Gyges the Lydian, five hundred years after the war of Ilium. Thus then concerning the time of the aforesaid poet, I mean Homer, and his origin, and the variances of those who have spoken of him, to those who are able to examine accurately, let what we have said suffice for a summary. For it is possible to show even opinions about history to be false. For among whomsoever the fixing of dates is unconnected, with them it is possible for not even the accounts of history to speak the truth. For what is the cause of error in writing, unless it is putting together things that are not true?

32. With us there is no desire of false glory, nor do we use varieties of doctrines. For, separated from the earthly tenets of the vulgar, and obeying the commands of God, and following the law of the father of immortality, we reject all that rests upon human opinion. And not only the rich are philosophers, but the poor enjoy teaching for nothing. For the things which come from God surpass the equivalent of the gifts of the world. Thus we admit all who are willing to hear, whether

they are old women, or whether they are young men, and in short every age has honour from us, but impiety is kept aloof. And we do not speak falsely: but it would be well if your abiding in unbelief were to receive some limit. But if not, let ours be confirmed by the knowledge of God. But you may laugh, for you also shall mourn. For how is it not absurd, that Nestor according to you, who slowly cut the traces of the horses, on account of the infirmity and dulness of age, should be an object of admiration, because he attempted to fight on a par with the young; but that those among us who struggle with age and handle things relating to God, should be laughed at? Who would not smile when you say there were the Amazons and Semiramis and certain other warlike women, whilst you abuse the virgins among us? Achilles was a young man, and is believed to have been very generous. And Neoptolemus was young, but he was brave. Philoctetes was weak, but the deity wanted him against Troy. What sort of man was Thersites? Yet he was a commander: but if lawlessness of tongue had not been in him through folly, he would not have been abused as bald and clump-headed. All the men among us who wish to philosophize, we test not by their aspect, nor do we judge of those who come over to us by their form. For we have come to the conclusion that strength of mind may exist among all, even if they are weak in their bodies: but your system is full of envy and much sloth.

33. On this account I have been desirous to establish from things deemed honourable among you, that our institutions are wise, but yours border on much folly. For those who say that we trifle among women, and boys, and girls, and old men, and who deride us because we are not with you, hear the folly of the things done among the Greeks. For their practices are foolish through their greater esteem than the gods among you, and ye act indecorously as regards the women's chambers. For Lysippus made the brazen statue of Praxilla, though she spake nothing useful in her poems; Menestratus made Learchis; Silanion made Sappho the courtesan; Nau-

cydes the Lesbian Erinna; Boiscus made Myrtis, Cephisodotus made Myro of Byzantium; Gomphos made Praxigoris, and Amphistratus made Cleito. For why need I speak about Anyta, Telesilla, and Mystis? For of the one Euthycrates and Cephisodotus, of the other Niceratus, and of the third Aristodotus, are the artists. Euthycrates of the Ephesian Mnesiarchis, Silanion of Corinna, Euthycrates of the Argive Thalarchis. These I have chosen to name, that you may not think any thing strange is done among us, and when you compare the practices before your eyes, you may not ridicule our philosophic women. Sappho was a fornicating and lascivious wench, and sang her own wantonness. But all those among us are chaste, and our maids, as they ply their distaffs, speak utterances about God more worthily than that girl among you. Wherefore be ye ashamed that you yourselves are found to be the disciples of those women, whilst you deride those who dwell among us together with the assembly that is with them. For what a noble child did Glaucippe set forth for you? who produced a monster, as its image shows, made in brass by Niceratus son of Euctemon, an Athenian by birth. For if she had given birth to an elephant, what is the reason why Glaucippe should receive public honour? Praxiteles and Herodotus made for you Phryne the courtesan, and Euthycrates worked in brass Panteuchis who was pregnant by her seducer. Besantis the queen of the Pæonians, because she bore a black child, Dinomenes caused her to be remembered by his art. I condemn both Pythygoras who placed Europa on the bull, and you who have honoured the accuser of Jupiter on account of his art. I laugh also at the art of Myron who made the calf and on it victory, because, having carried off the daughter of Agenor, he bore away the prize of adultery and incontinence. Herodotus of Olynthus wrought Glycera the courtesan, and the songstress of Argos. Bryaxis placed Pasiphae, whose impurities you call to mind, and almost wish the present women to be the same. Melanippe was wise; for

that reason Lysistratus wrought her, but you do not believe that there are wise women among us.

34. The famous tyrant Phalaris also, who devoured children at the breast, is still now pointed out as a wonderful man by the work of Polystratus the Ambracian. And the people of Agrigentum feared to look at his countenance aforesaid on account of his eating human flesh: and those who have a care for instruction, boast that they see him in a likeness. For is it not difficult for fratricide to be honoured among you, who gaze on the figures of Polynices and Eteocles, and do not bury them with their maker Pythagoras, and so destroy the monuments of their wickedness? Why must I, on account of Periclymenus, look upon and contemplate as a marvellous work the woman, who bore thirty children? For it would be right to heap execration on her who bore off the prize of much intemperance, like the sow among the Romans, which also for the same reason, as they say, was thought worthy of mystic ceremonies. But Mars debauched Venus, and Andron represented for you their issue Hermione. Sophron, who delivered down folly and trifling in his writings, was more famous for his brass manufactory, which still exists, and the fabulist Æsop has not only been made memorable by his fables, but also the art of moulding according to Aristodemus has made him famous. How then are ye not ashamed, when ye have so many poetesses not for any good, and numberless prostitutes and fornicators, to revile the chastity of the women among us? What good is it to me to learn that Evanthe bore a child in the Walk, or to admire the skill of Callistratus, or to fix the eyes on the Neæra of Calliades? For she was a harlot. Lais was a prostitute, and Turnus made her the monument of his debauchery. Why are ye not ashamed of the fornication of Hephæstion? even though Philon represents him very cleverly? For what reason have you on account of the Ganymede of Leochares honoured the androgynous statue, as if you possessed some noble work? and Praxiteles made a

woman Spilumenon. But it would be better for you, setting aside every such thing to seek that which is truly excellent, and not, whilst you claim the abominable devices of Philænis or Elephantis, to revile our principles.

35. I have set forth these things not as having learnt from another, for I have traversed much land, and on the one side I have pried into your institutions, on the other I have fallen in with many arts and inventions, and lastly have dwelt in the city of the Romans, and perceived the varieties of statues that have been carried from you among them. For I do not, as is the custom with most men, seek to strengthen my own by other persons' opinions, but I wish to draw up an account of all those things, of which I myself shall take cognizance. Wherefore bidding adieu both to the boasting of the Romans, and to the cold words of the Athenians, with their conflicting doctrines, I cling fast to our own barbaric philosophy. In what manner this is more ancient than your institutions, I began to write, but put it off on account of the urgency of the narrative, but now, when it is the time, I will endeavour to speak about its doctrines. For do not be angry at our learning, nor bring against us contradiction full of vain and empty talk, saying, Tatian [setting himself] above the Greeks and above the endless multitude of the philosophers, is following the new doctrines of the barbarians. For what objection is there that men, who have appeared to be ignorant, should be refuted by a man of like passions with themselves? and how is it unreasonable, according to your own sophist, to grow older learning something new continually?

36. Let then Homer be not only not later than the war of Ilium, but let him be taken as about the time of the war, and moreover to have served with the followers of Agamemnon, and, if a man pleases, before the invention of letters took place. For Moses above mentioned will be found to have been very many years older than the taking of Ilium, more ancient than the founding in Ilium, and than Tros and Dardanus. For proof, I shall make use of Chaldæan,

Phœnician, and Egyptian testimonies. And why need I speak more? It behoves the man who proposes to persuade, to make his accounts of things concise for his hearers. Berosus, a man of Babylon, and priest of their Belus, living at the time of Alexander, drew up for Antiochus, the third king after him, the history of the Chaldæans in three books, and setting forth the deeds of their kings, relates that one of them, named Nabuchodonosor, led an army against the Phœnicians and the Jews. These things we know were predicted by our prophets; they happened much later than the age of Moses, and seventy years before the supremacy of the Persians. But Berosus is a trustworthy man, and a proof of this is Juba, who, writing about the Assyrians, says that he learnt the history from Berosus. He has two books about the Assyrians.

37. Next to the Chaldæans, the accounts of the Phœnicians are these. There were among them three men, Theodotus, Hypsicrates, Mochus. Their books were turned into Greek by Chætus, who also wrote with much care the lives of the philosophers. Now it is shown in the histories of the aforesaid, that in the reign of one of their kings happened the rape of Helen, the arrival of Menelaus in Phœnicia, and the exploits of Chiram, who, having given his daughter in marriage to Solomon king of the Jews, furnished wood also of all kinds of trees for the building of the temple. But Menander also of Pergamus wrote an account of the same. Now the date of Chiram approaches nearly to that of the war of Ilium; but Solomon who was coeval with Chiram, is much lower than the age of Moses.

38. The records of Egyptian chronology also are very accurate, and the interpreter of their deeds is Ptolemy, not the king, but the priest of Mendes. In relating the deeds of their kings, he says that the departure of the Jews out of Egypt into the country which they occupied, was in the reign of Amasis king of Egypt, under the leadership of Moses. His words are these: Amasis was coeval with king Inachus.

After him Apion the grammarian and of much repute, in the fourth book of his *Ægyptiaca* (for he has five books) mentions both many other things, and also that Amosis, who was coeval with Inachus of Argos, destroyed Avaris, as Ptolemy of Mendes has written in his chronology. But the period of time from Inachus to the taking of Troy fills up twenty generations, and the proofs are of this nature.

39. The following were kings of the Argives; Inachus, Phoroneus, Apis, Kriasis, Triopas, Argeius, Phorbas, Krotopas, Sthenelaus, Danaus, Lynceus, Proetus, Abas, Acrisius, Perseus, Sthenelaus, Eurystheus, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, in the eighteenth year of whose reign Troy was taken. And it becomes the man of sense to understand with all accuracy, that, according to the tradition of the Greeks, there was no writing of history among them. For Cadmus, who taught letters to the aforesaid, came into Bœotia many generations afterwards. But after Inachus in the time of Phoroneus, a limit was with difficulty set to their wild and wandering mode of life, and men were brought to order. Wherefore, if Moses was coeval with Inachus, he is older than the war of Ilium by five hundred years, and this is shown to be so, both from the succession of the kings of Attica and Macedonia, and the Ptolemies, and the Antiochuses. Wherefore, if the most brilliant deeds among the Greeks were written and known after Inachus, it is clear that they were after Moses also. For Ogyges, in whose time was the first deluge, is named among the Athenians as contemporary with Inachus: coeval with Phorbas was Actæus, from whom also Attica was called Actæa: with Triopas was Prometheus, and Epimetheus, and Atlas, and the twofold Cecrops, and Io: contemporary with Cecrops was the conflagration in the time of Phaethon, and the flood in the time of Deucalion. In the time of Sthenelaus was the reign of Amphictyon, and the coming of Danaus into the Peloponnesus, and the building of the Dardanian city by Dardanus, and the conveyance of Europa from Phœnicia into Crete. In the time of Lynceus

was the rape of the Maid, and the founding of the temple in Eleusis, and the farming of Triptolemus, and the coming of Cadmus to Thebes, and the reign of Minos. In the time of Prætus was the war of Eumolpus against the Athenians. In the time of Acrisius, was the crossing of Pelops from Phrygia, and the arrival of Ion at Athens, and the second Cecrops, and the acts of Perseus and Dionysus, and Musæus the disciple of Orpheus. But in the reign of Agamemnon Ilium was taken.

40. Thus Moses appears, from the above-mentioned authorities, older than the ancient heroes, cities, and deities: and we must trust to him that is earliest in age, rather than to the Greeks who have drawn from that source his doctrines without recognition. For many sophists among them, using industry, have endeavoured also to counterfeit those things which they learnt from the disciples of Moses, and those whose philosophy is the same as his; first indeed, that they may say something of their own, secondly that whatever things they did not understand, enveloping them in fictitious oratorical expressions, they might transfer [an appearance of] mythology to truth. Concerning then our way of life, and the history according to our laws, and whatever the historians among the Greeks have said, and how many and who they are who have named these things, shall be shown in the book against those who have published things about God.

41. But for the present, I must make haste to show with all accuracy, that Moses is older not only than Homer, but further, than the writers before him, Linus, Philammon, Thamyris, Amphion, Musæus, Orpheus, Demodocus, Phemias, the Sibyl, Epimenides the Cretan, who came to Sparta, Aristæus of Proconnesus who wrote the Arimaspiæ verses, Asbolus the Centaur, and Isatis, and Drymon, and Eumiclus the Cyprian, and Orus the Samian, and Prosnautis the Athenian. For Linus is the teacher of Hercules: but Hercules appears to have been one generation older than the war of

Ilium: this is evident from his son Tlepolemus, who went with the army to Ilium. Orpheus was of the same age with Hercules, both for other reasons and also they say that the poems attributed to him were composed by Onomacritus the Athenian, who lived under the rule of the Pisistratidæ, about the fiftieth Olympiad. But the disciple of Orpheus was Musæus: Amphion's having lived two generations before the war of Ilium, forbids me to write more to those who wish to learn. But Demodocus and Phemius lived at the time of the Trojan war. For they were dwelling, one of them among the suitors, the other among the Phæacians. But Thamyris and Philammon are not much more ancient than these. As regards my treatise then according to each branch of the subject, the dates, and the records of them, I have written for you, as I think, with all needful accuracy. But that we may fill up what has also hitherto been wanting, I will also give an account of those also who are reckoned wise men. For Minos, who was thought to be at the head of every art, both for prudence and legislation, lived in the time of Lynceus, the next king after Danaus, in the eleventh generation after Inachus. But Lycurgus who was born long after the taking of Troy, ruled over the Lacedæmonians an hundred years before the Olympiads. Draco is found to have lived about the thirty-ninth Olympiad, Solon about the forty-eighth, Pythagoras about the sixty-second. Now we have shown that the Olympiads were four hundred and seven years after the war of Ilium. And thus these things having been thus explained, we will further also briefly write concerning the seven wise men. For as Thales, the oldest of the aforesaid, lived about the fiftieth Olympiad, we have almost said in brief what concerns those also who come after him.

42. These things then, ye men of Greece, have I Tatian the barbarian philosopher composed for you, having been born in the land of the Assyrians, and been educated first in your doctrines, and secondly in those which I now profess to

preach. But for the future, as I know who God is, and what is his creation, I present myself before you ready for an examination of my doctrines, my way of life continuing undeniable according to God.

FRAGMENTS

FROM LOST WORKS OF TATIAN.

Frag. 1. He writes . . . in his book *On Perfection* after the pattern of our Saviour:

Consent is fitting for prayer, but union of corruption nullifies its success: &c. [CLEMENS ALEX. *Strom.* iii, 12, 81.]

Frag. 2. Some one runs down generation, saying that it is mortal and perishes: and some one strains [the interpretation], saying that it was about having children that our Saviour said, "Lay not up treasures, &c." And he is not ashamed to add to this the words of the prophet, "You all shall wax old as a garment, and the moth shall eat you up." In the same way also they bring forward that saying "The sons of that generation neither marry nor are given in marriage." [CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* iii, 12, 86.]

Frag. 3. Tatian, who introduced the supposed body of Christ, thinks that

Every union of the male with the female is unclean.

He is the most violent heresiarch of the Encratites, and uses this argument:

He that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption. Now he soweth in the flesh who is united to a woman; therefore he who has a wife and soweth in her flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. [HIERON. *Comm. in ep. ad Galat.* cap. vi.]

Frag. 4. Standing aloof from the church, and elevated and puffed up by an opinion of his teacher, as differing from the rest, he framed a peculiar character of doctrine, imagining some unseen periods of time [*æons*] similarly to those that proceeded from Valentine, and proclaiming

marriage to be a defilement and adultery, in the same way as Marcion and Saturninus, and making opposition out of his own head to the salvation of Adam. [IREN. i, 28, 1].

Frag. 5. Tatian . . . tries then to make use of such sayings of Paul, "In Adam all die," being ignorant that where sin did abound, grace did much more abound. [IREN. iii, 23, 8].

Frag. 6. In answer to Tatian, who says that Let there be light are the words of one who petitions, we must say, If the petitioner recognised a superior God, how does he say, I am God, and beside me there is no God? He said that

There are punishments of blasphemies, idle talk, incontinent words, which are punished and corrected by reason. He said also that women are punished for their hair and their ornaments by the power which is appointed over such things, which also gave power to Sampson in his hair, and which punishes those who turn to fornication for ornament of the hair. [CLEM. ALEX. *Fragm.* § 38, &c.]

Frag. 7. But Tatian, not perceiving that the character of a petition does not always harmonise with the words Let there be light, but sometimes also that of a command, impiously understood God's words Let there be light as rather a prayer than a command that light should be created, since, as he according to his impious notion says, God was in darkness [ORIGEN. *de Orat.* 24].

Frag. 8. Tatian distinguishes the old and the new man, not as we say, that the old man is the law, and the new the Gospel. We agree with him in this also, but not as he means it, doing away with the law, as if it came from another god [CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* iii, 12, 82].

Frag. 9. Tatian condemns and reproves not only marriage, but also meats, which God has created for use [HIER. *adv. Jovin.* i, 3].

Frag. 10. Ye gave the Nazarenes wine to drink, &c. . . . Tatian, leader of the Encratites, endeavours to build up his heresy from this passage, asserting that wine is not to be drunk, since it is both appointed by law that Nazarenes should not drink wine, and they are here accused by the prophet, who gave wine to Nazarenes [HIERON. *Comm. in Amos*, cap. ii].

Frag. 11. Tatian, patriarch of the Encratites, who also himself rejected some of Paul's epistles, thought that this one, namely to Titus, was by all means to be considered his, little valuing the assertion of Marcion and others, who agree with him in this particular. [HIERON. *Præf. in Comm. in ep. ad Titum*].

III.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH :

HIS

WRITING TO AUTOLYCUS.

BOOK I.

A WITTY tongue and neat speech afford pleasure and praise for vain glory to wretched men, who have their minds depraved. But the lover of truth does not attend to depraved words, but sifts the deed of the word, to see what and what like it is. Since then, my friend, you have attacked me with empty words, boasting in your gods of stone and wood, whether hammered, molten, moulded, or painted ; which neither see nor hear ; for they are idols and the works of men's hands ; and you call me moreover a Christian, as bearing the very name disgraceful ; I indeed confess that I am a Christian, and bear this name as dear to God, hoping to be useful to God. For it is not as you suppose, that the name of God is troublesome ; but perhaps also you are useless to God, and therefore think thus concerning him.

2. But also if you say, show me your God, I also will say to you, show me your man, and I will show you my God. For show me the eyes of your soul seeing, and the ears of your heart hearing. For as those who see with the eyes of

the body, perceive the course of life and of this earth, at the same time distinguishing those different things, light or darkness, white or black, unseemly or beautiful, well arranged and well ordered, or ill arranged and disordered, beyond measure or short of measure ; and in like manner also of those things which form the subject of hearing, as shrill, deep, or sweet-sounding : in the same way would it be also with respect to the ears of the heart, and the eyes of the soul, so as to be able to see God. For God is seen by those who are able to see him, when they have the eyes of the soul opened. All men have eyes, but some have them clouded, and not beholding the light of the sun. And because the blind cannot see, the light of the sun does not refuse to shine upon them, but let the blind blame themselves, and their eyes. Thus you also, O man, have the eyes of your soul clouded by your sins and wicked deeds. As is a shining looking-glass, so ought man to have his soul unstained. When therefore there is rust on the looking-glass, the face of the man cannot be seen in the looking-glass. Thus also when sin is in the man, such a man cannot see God. Show me also thyself then, if thou art not an adulterer, if thou art not a fornicator, a thief, a robber, a spoliator, a sodomite, an insulter, abusive, angry, envious, arrogant, proud, a smiter, a lover of money, disobedient to parents, if thou dost not sell thy own children for slaves. For to those who do these things God does not show himself, unless they first cleanse themselves from every stain. And therefore all these things cast a cloud over you, as when a covering of matter falls on the eyes, so that they cannot see the light of the sun : thus also, O man, your impurities cast a shade over you, so that you cannot see God.

3. You will say to me then, "Thou who seest, describe to me God's form." Hear, O man ; the form of God is unspeakable, not to be described, and cannot be seen by fleshly eyes. For in his glory he cannot be comprehended nor understood in his magnitude, nor in his height be

comprised in thought; in strength he is above comparison, in wisdom above likeness, in goodness inimitable, in good works indescribable. For, if I call him light, I call him one of his own works: if I call him the Word, I speak of his own rule: if I call him mind, I speak of his own prudence: if I call him spirit, I speak of his own inspiration: if I speak of wisdom, I name his own offspring; if I speak of strength, I speak of his own might: if I speak of his power, I name his own working: if I call him providence, I name his own goodness: if I speak of his kingdom, I speak of his own glory: if I call him lord, I speak of him as judge: if I call him judge, I call him just: if I speak of him as father, I call him all things: if I call him fire, I speak of his anger. You will then say to me, "Is God angry?" By all means; he is angry at those who do wicked deeds, but good, and kind, and merciful to those who love and fear him. For he is the teacher of the righteous, and the father of the just, but the judge and punisher of the unholy.

4. He is without beginning, because he is ungenerated: he is unchangeable, because he is immortal. He is called *theos*, the "placer," because he has *placed* [*thekas*] all things in his own firmness, and also from *thëein*, which means to run and to move, and from working, and sustaining, and showing forethought, and governing, and giving life to all things. But he is lord, because he lords it over all things, and father, because he was before all things. But he is worker and maker, because he is the founder and maker of all things: the highest, because he is above all things: Almighty, because he holds and embraces all things. For the heights of the heavens, and the depths of the abysses, and the ends of the world, are in his hand, and there is no place of rest for him. For the heavens are his work, the earth is his making: the sea is his founding; man is his moulding and his image. The sun, and the moon, and the stars are his elements, having been made for signs and for seasons and for days and for years, [Gen. i, 14] to the ministry and service of men: and God hath

brought all things into being from things not in being : that his greatness may be known and felt.

5. For, as the soul in man is not seen, being invisible to men, but the soul is felt through the motion of the body : so may it be that God cannot be seen by men's eyes, but is seen and felt by his providence and his works. For in the same manner as it is clear that a man seeing a vessel furnished on the sea, and sailing and coming into harbour, will think there is a steersman on board to steer it, so must we think that God is the steersman of the universe, even though he is not seen by the eyes of the flesh, because he cannot be comprehended. For if man cannot gaze on the sun, which is one of the smallest elements, on account of its exceeding heat and force, how much rather is mortal man unable to look against the unspeakable glory of God? For in the same manner as a pomegranate having the rind that contains it, has within it many mansions and cells separated by membranes, and has many seeds residing in it; so all the creation is held together by the spirit of God, and the spirit that holds it is held together with the creation by the hand of God. For, as the seed residing within the pomegranate cannot see the things outside the husk, being itself within, so neither can man, who is held together with all the creation by the hand of God, see God. Is then an earthly king, though not seen by all, believed to exist, through his laws and commandments, and felt by his authority and his powers and his likenesses; but do you not believe that God is felt through his works and his powers?

6. Think, O man, on his works, the change of seasons at different times, and the changes of the air, the well-ordered course of the elements, and the well-arranged progress of days and nights, and months and years, and the varied beauty of seeds, and plants, and fruits, and the manifold generation of four-footed cattle, and birds, and reptiles, and fishes, both of lakes and of the sea, or the intelligence that is given in the living things themselves to generate and to support their young, not for their own use, but that man may have them,

and the providence which God shows, preparing food for all flesh, or the subjection, according to which he hath ordained all things to be subject to humanity; and the welling of sweet fountains and of rivers ever flowing, and the supply of dew and showers and rains happening at different seasons, the varied motion of the heavenly bodies, Lucifer rising and proclaiming that the perfect star is coming, and the bond of the Pleiades and Orion, and Arcturus, and the path of the other stars lying in the circle of the heavens, for all of which the manifold wisdom of God hath appointed their several names. He alone is God who hath made light out of darkness; he that led forth the light out of his treasures, and the abodes of the south and the treasures of the deep, and the bounds of the seas, and the treasures of snow and of hail, bringing together the waters in the treasures of the deep, and bringing together the darkness in his treasures, and bringing forth the sweet, the delightful and the lovely light out of his treasures, bringing up the clouds from the extremity of the earth, and multiplying the lightnings into rain. He who sends forth the thunder to terrify, and forewarns of the crash of the thunder by the lightning, that the soul may not be taken by surprise and faint, and who measures out also the sufficiency of the lightning that comes down from the heavens, so as not to burn up the earth. For if the lightning get full power, it will burn up the earth; and if the thunder do so, it will upset everything upon it.

7. This is my God, the lord of all things, who alone spread out heaven, and appointed the breadth of the earth beneath the heaven; who disturbs the hollow of the sea, and gives sound to its waves, who rules over its power, and tames the surge of its billows; who founded the earth upon the billows, and gives the spirit that nourishes it; whose breath gives life to all things: if he keep back the spirit near himself, everything will faint. O man, you utter him in your words, you breathe his spirit, and you know him not. But this hath happened to you, on account of the blinding of your soul, and

the callousness of your heart. But, if you will, you may be healed. Give thyself up to the physician, and he shall prick the eyes of thy soul and of thy heart. Who is the physician? God, who heals and gives life by his word and by his wisdom. God by his word and his wisdom made all things. For by his word the heavens were fixed, and by his spirit is all their power. His wisdom is the most excellent. God by his wisdom established the earth: he made ready the heavens by his prudence, the deeps broke forth in sensitiveness, the clouds dropped dew. If thou feelest these things, O man, living chaste, and holy, and just, thou mayest see God. But before all let the faith and the fear of God take the lead in thy heart, and then thou shalt understand all things. When you put off the mortal and put on immortality, then shall you worthily see God. God raises up the flesh immortal with the soul: and then becoming immortal you shall see the Immortal, if you now believe on him, and then shall you know that you unrighteously spoke against him.

8. But you do not believe that the dead are raised. When it shall come you will then believe, whether willing or nilling: and your belief shall be reckoned for unbelief, if you do not believe now. But to what end do you also believe not? Do you not know that faith takes the lead of all things? For what farmer can reap, unless he has first trusted the seed to the ground? or who can sail over the sea, unless he has first trusted himself to the boat and to the steersman? Or what sick man can be cured, unless he has first trusted himself to the physician? What art or science can a man learn, unless he has first given and trusted himself to the teacher? If then a farmer trusts to the earth, and the sailor to his boat, and the sick man to the physician, will you not trust yourself to God, when you have so many pledges from him? For first because he made you into being from not being; for if your father was not, and your mother was not, much more were you once not in being, and he formed you out of a small moist matter and tiniest drop, which itself also was not once. And

God brought you into this life. Do you then believe that images made by men are gods, and enact virtues, but do you disbelieve in God who made you, that he is able also to bring you to life again?

9. And if you say you reverence the names of the gods, they are names of dead men. And of whom and of what kind of men? Is not Saturn found to eat children, and to be the destroyer of his own children? But if you say also that Jupiter was his son, learn his deeds also and manner of living—first, that he was bred up by a goat in Ida, and having slain her, according to the mythology, and skinned her, made a cloak for himself out of her hide. And his other deeds, both concerning the daughter of his brother, and his adultery, and devouring his children, Homer and the other poets give a better description about him than I can. What remains to be said about his sons? Hercules who burnt himself, Bacchus who was drunk and mad, Apollo who feared Achilles and ran away from him, and fell in love with Daphne, and was ignorant of the death of Hyacinth, or of Venus who was wounded, Mars who was the plague of men, and of the blood which flowed from these so-called gods? And to talk of these things indeed is moderate, when we find there was a god called Osiris, who was torn limb from limb, for whom every year mysteries are celebrated, as if he were lost and found again, and his limbs sought for, one by one? For neither is it known if he is lost, nor is it shown that he is found. Why should I speak of Attis castrated? or Adonis roving in the woods, and hunting and being wounded by a swine? or Æsculapius struck by lightning? and Serapis, who became an exile at Alexandria from Sinope? or the Scythian Diana, who herself also was an exile, a murderess, and a huntress, and fell in love with Endymion? It is not we who say these things, but your historians and poets proclaim them.

10. Why need I reckon up the number of gods that the Ægyptians worship, reptiles, and cattle, wild beasts, and birds, and those that swim in the waters, and moreover their baths

and their shameful music? If you speak of the Greeks and other nations, they worship stones and stocks, and other material things, as we said before, likenesses of dead men. For Phidias is found to have made the Olympian Jupiter at Pisa, and the Minerva in the Acropolis for the Athenians. I also will ask of you, O man, how many Jupiters are there found to be? In the first place the Olympian Jupiter is named, and Jupiter Latarius, and Jupiter Cassius, and Jupiter the Thunderer, and Jupiter Propator, and Jupiter Pannychius, and Jupiter Poliuchus, and Jupiter Capitolinus. Now Jupiter, the son of Saturn, king of Crete, has his tomb in Crete. But the others perhaps were not even thought worthy of a tomb. If you speak of the mother of the so-called gods, do not let the recital of her deeds pass through my lips, for it is unlawful for us even to name such things; or the doings of her attendants by whom she is served, and the taxes and contributions which she and her children pay to the emperor. For they are not gods, but idols, as we said before, the works of men's hands, and impure dæmons. And may they be the same who make them, and those who put their trust in them!

11. I will therefore rather honour the emperor, not indeed worshiping him, but praying for him. But I worship God, who is the real and true God, knowing that the emperor is under him. You will say to me then: Why do you not worship the emperor? Because he was not made to be worshiped, but to be honoured with the lawful honour. For he is not a god, but a man appointed by God, not to be worshiped, but to judge justly. For in a certain manner he has been trusted with an administration from God. For himself also is not willing that those, whom he has appointed under him, should be called emperors; for emperor is his own name, and it is not lawful for any other to be called by this name; so neither is it lawful for any one to be worshiped but God alone. So that you are every way in error, O man. Honour the emperor, having good will towards him, being

subject unto him, and praying for him : and in so doing, you do the will of God : for the law of God says, Honour, my son, God and the king, and be disobedient to neither of them, for they will suddenly take vengeance on their enemies. [Prov. xxiv, 21, 22.]

12. But whereas you laugh at me, and call me a Christian, you know not what you say. First, because *chrism* is sweet and useful and not to be laughed at. For what vessel can be useful and be safe, unless it first have *chrism* (grease) put on it? Or what turret or building is beautiful or fit for use, until it has been covered with *chrism* (oil)? What man is there who is born into this world or enters the gymnastic ground, without having *chrism* (oil) put upon him? What work or ornament can possess beauty, unless it be greased and polished? Then the air and all the earth lying under heaven, is covered in a certain manner with a *chrism* of light and spirit. Are you then not willing to be anointed with the oil of God? Now we are called Christians for this reason, because we are anointed with the *chrism* of God.

13. But as to your denying that the dead are raised—for you say, “Show me even one who has been raised from the dead, that I may see and believe.” In the first place, what marvel will it be, if you shall believe, when you have seen the fact? Yet you believe that Hercules is alive, who burnt himself? and that Æsculapius who was struck with lightning, was raised again, but you do not believe those things that are told you by God? Perhaps also I shall show you a dead man that has risen again and is alive, and you will doubt this. God gives you many signs that you should believe on him. For, if you please, remark the end of the seasons, and the days and the nights, how these also both end and begin again. What then? is there not a resurrection of the seeds and of fruits and this for the use of men? For example, a grain of corn or of the other seeds, when it has been cast into the ground, first dies and decays, then it rises and becomes a blade. But the nature of trees and of hard-shelled fruits—

do they not by God's command at certain seasons bring forth their fruits from out of what is obscure and invisible to us ? Sometimes moreover a sparrow also, or one of the other birds, having swallowed a seed of an apple or a fig, or some other fruit, goes to some rocky height, or to a tomb, and deposits it, and the seed having taken root grows up into a tree, which had once been swallowed, and passed through so much heat. But the wisdom of God works all these things, to show by means of them, that God is able to produce the general resurrection of all men. But if also you wish to see a sight that is still more wonderful in proof of the resurrection, not only of things on the earth, but also of things in heaven, consider the rising of the moon that takes place every month, how she sets and rises again. Hear also of the work of the resurrection that takes place in yourself also, even though you are ignorant of it, O man. For perhaps once having fallen into a disease, you lost your flesh, and your strength, and beauty ; but having obtained mercy and healing from God, you received back your body and your beauty, and strength, and, as you did not know where your flesh went when it was wasted, so you know not whence it was, or whence it came back. But you will say, From food and juices turned into blood. Well, but this also is the work of God who so created you, and of no other.

14. Do not then doubt, but believe : for I also doubted that this would happen ; but now I believe, because I have considered those things, having at the same time also lighted on the sacred writings of the holy prophets, who also foretold by God's spirit past things how they happened, and in what manner present things happen, and in what order future things shall be brought about. Having then received demonstration of things present, and foretold, I doubt not : but I believe, in obedience to the commands of God, to whom I beg you also, if you please, to yield yourself, and believe in him ; lest, if now you doubt, you should be convinced hereafter, being tormented in everlasting punishments. These

punishments having been foretold by the prophets were stolen by the poets and the philosophers who rose up afterwards, out of the sacred writings, to the end that their doctrines might be worthy of credit. But themselves also foretold concerning the punishments that would fall on the impious and unbelieving, that they might be a witness to all, to the end that no one might say we have neither heard nor known. But do you also, if you please, earnestly set about the prophetic writings, and they will lead you more clearly to escape from everlasting punishment, and to obtain the everlasting good things of God. For he who gave the mouth to speak, and formed the ear to hear, and made the eyes to see, will sift all things, and judge what is just, giving to each man a reward according to his desert. To those who by abiding in good works seek immortality, he shall give eternal life, grace, peace, rest, and numbers of good things, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor have ever entered into the heart of man. But to unbelievers, and scoffers, and those who disobey the truth, but are obedient to unrighteousness, since they are full of adulteries, and fornications, and sodomies, and covetousness, and the unlawful service of idols, there shall be anger and wrath, tribulation, and anguish, and in the end everlasting fire shall overtake such men.

As you enjoined on me, my friend, to show you my God, this is my God, and I advise you to fear him and to believe on him.

BOOK II.

1. **WHEREAS** we formerly had some talk together, my good friend Autolycus, when you asked me who was my God, and, whilst you lent your ears for a while to my conversation, I explained to you about my worship of God, and moreover, we then, bidding one another farewell, went with much friend-

ship each to his own house, although at first you were rather harsh towards me, for you know and remember that you suspected my discourse to be folly—whereas then you have again urged me, notwithstanding that I am rude in speaking, yet I am willing now also in this writing to show you more clearly the useless labour and vain worship in which you are held, and also out of those few histories of yours which you read, but perhaps do not yet understand, to make the truth manifest unto you.

2. For it seems to me ridiculous, that statuaries, and modelers, or painters, or founders, should model, paint, carve, or cast, and make gods, and as soon as they are made by the artists, hold them in no value: but when they are bought for some temple so called or house, not only the buyers sacrifice to them, but those also who made them and sold them, come with readiness and with an offering of sacrifices and libations to worship them, and think them gods, not knowing they are such as they also were when they were made by themselves, namely, stone or brass, or wood, or paint, or some other material. But this has happened to you also, who read the histories and genealogies of those called gods. For when you read of their generation, you view them as men, but afterwards you address them as gods, and worship them, not attending nor considering that they were born such as you read they were born.

3. And of gods formerly, since they all were begotten, an abundant genealogy was found: but now, where is any birth of gods pointed out? For if they really begot and were begotten, it is manifest that there ought to be gods begotten even up to now. But if not, such an argument will be perceived to be weak. For either they grew old, for which reason they no longer generate, or they died, and so no longer exist. For if the gods were begotten, they ought to be begotten even up to the present time, as men also are begotten: or rather there ought to be also more gods than men, as the Sibyl says,

If gods do gen'rate, and remain immortal,
There are more gods begotten far than men,
Nor would there be a place for men to stand.

For, if the children born of men who are mortal and short-lived, are to be seen up to this time, and men have never ceased to be born, whereby cities and villages are filled with inhabitants, and moreover the fields are inhabited, how rather should not the gods who never die, according to the poets, beget and be begotten, according as you relate the generation of the gods to have taken place? To what end was the mount called Olympus inhabited by the gods, but now is left vacant? or why did Jupiter then dwell in Ida, and was known to be living there then according to Homer and the other poets, but now nothing is known of him? And why also was he found to be not everywhere, but only in parts of the earth? For either he neglected the other parts, or he was unable to be everywhere and to take thought for everything. For if he were, so to speak, in an eastern country, he was not in a western country. But if again, on the other hand, he was in a western country, he was not in an eastern country. But the attribute of the Most High and Almighty God, and the real God, is this, not only to be everywhere, but also to oversee all things, and to hear all men. For it is his characteristic not even to be contained in one place: if it were otherwise, the place which contains him will be found greater than he: for that which contains is greater than that which is contained. For God is not contained, but is himself the place of all things. But why is it also that Jupiter has left Ida? Is it that he is dead, or did that mountain no longer please him? Where too is he gone? To heaven? No. Will you say, to Crete? Yea verily; where also his tomb is shown, up to this very day. You will say again, to Pisa—for it is he who renders famous the handiwork of Phidias down to this very time. Let us now come to the writings of the philosophers and the poets.

4. Some philosophers of the Porch deny that there is any

good at all, or, if there is, they say that God cares for nothing but himself. It was altogether the folly of Epicurus and Chrysippus that pronounced these opinions; but others say that there is spontaneousness in all things, and that the world is uncreated, and nature eternal, and generally they have dared to say that there is no providence of God: but they say that the only God is the conscience of each man. Others again define God to be the spirit that pervades everything: but Plato and those of his sect, acknowledge God to be unbegotten, and the father, and the maker of all things; then they place as a basis God and matter uncreated, and they say that this is coeval with God. But if God is uncreated and matter uncreated, God is no longer the maker of all things, according to the Platonic philosophers, nor is any sole government shown to exist, as far as they are concerned. But moreover as God, being uncreated, is also unchangeable, so if also matter was uncreated, it was both unchangeable and equal to God. For that which is created, may be changed and altered: but that which is uncreated, cannot be changed or altered. But what marvel would it be, if God made the world out of subject matter? for a man also who is an artisan, when he has taken material from any one, makes what he pleases out of it. But the power of God is shown in this, that he makes out of things not in being whatever things he wills, as also to give a soul and the power of motion, is the office of no other person, but of God alone. For a man also makes an image, but he cannot give reason, and breath and sense to that which is made by him. But God possesses the power also to make it reasoning, breathing, sensitive. As therefore God in all these things is more powerful than man, so also is he in the making and having made, out of things not in being before, the things that be, and whatever things he will, according as he wills.

5. So that there is a discrepancy of opinion between philosophers and writers. For whereas the former state as above, the poet Homer is found, by a different hypothesis, to

introduce the generation, not only of the world, but of the gods also: for he says [Il. ξ, 201],

Oceanus, sire of gods, and mother Tethys,
From which all rivers spring and every sea.

In saying which, he no longer maintains a god. For who does not know that the Ocean is water? but, if water, then not a god. Yet if God is the maker of all things, as also he is, he is then the maker both of the water and of the seas. But Hesiod himself also has declared the generation not only of the gods, but also of the world itself. And when he says that the world was created, he had not strength to say by whom it was created. Moreover also he spoke of the gods Saturn and his son Jupiter, and Neptune, and Pluto, and we find that these were later than the world. He relates moreover also that Saturn was warred against by Jupiter his own son. For he says thus: [Theog. 74]

In strength beyond his father Saturn, he
Gave the immortals each his due, due honour
To each assigned.

Then he introduces in his narrative the daughters of Jupiter, whom also he calls Muses, of whom he is found to be a suppliant, wishing to learn from them in what manner all things were made. For he says [Theog. 104],

Daughters of Jove, I hail you! give sweet song
And sing the sacred race of the immortals,
From Earth once born and from the starry Heavens
And sombre night, or from the briny sea.
And say how first the gods and earth were made.
Rivers, and boundless sea, rising in billows,
And shining stars, and the wide heaven above.
What gods from them were born, givers of gifts,
How they dealt out earth's wealth and shared its honours,
And dwelt at first in many-ridged Olympus,
Tell me ye muses of Olympic mansions
This from the first, say what thing first was made.

Now how did the Muses know these things as they were

later than the world? or how could they tell them to Hesiod, since their father was not yet born?

6. He somehow supposes matter as connected with the creation, when he says [*De Orig. Mundi*],

First of all things was Chaos, afterwards
 Broad-bosom'd Earth, ever the seat secure
 Of gods who hold the tops of dark Olympus,
 And misty Tartarus in the wide earth's bowels.
 And Love, most beauteous of immortal gods.
 Care-loosing, who of all both gods and men
 Shatters their souls within and firmest counsels.
 From Chaos Erebus and black night were born.
 From night again came Æther and the day,
 The offspring of her loves with Erebus.
 The Earth at first produced her one compeer,
 The starry Heaven, to wrap herself withal,
 And for the blessed gods a seat secure.
 She bare long mountains, lovely seats of nymphs
 Divine, who dwell in valleys mid the hills.
 She bare the barren sea, swelling in billows,
 The sea without love's charms, but afterwards
 By Heaven's embrace, she bare the eddying ocean.

Though he said these things, yet even thus he did not show by whom they were made. For if Chaos was in the beginning, and some matter uncreated was the groundwork, who was it that arranged this, and organized and changed it? Did matter transform and change itself, (for Jupiter was born some time later, not only than matter, but also than the world and the mass of mankind, ay and also his father Saturn) or rather was there not some power that made it, I mean God who also arranged it? But further, he is found to talk nonsense in every way, and to contradict himself; for speaking of earth and heaven and the sea, he means that the gods were born from these, and from them he declares there were certain terrible men, the kinsmen of the gods, the race of the Titans and the Cyclops, and a number of giants, and of the Egyptian deities, or rather vain men, mentioned by Apollonides also surnamed Horapius, in his book entitled

Semenouthi, and in his other histories, on the worship of the Egyptians and their kings,—and all their busy idleness.

7. What boots it to tell of the mythologies of the Greeks? Pluto the king of darkness, and Neptune diving into the sea, and embracing Melanippe, and begetting a son that devoured men, or whatever things writers have told in tragedy concerning Jupiter's children : even they themselves tell us their birth, that they were men begotten, and not gods. But Aristophanes the comic poet, in his play named the Birds, endeavouring to describe the creation of the world, says that an egg was first produced, the origin of the world ; he says, [ARIST. AV. 696].

A wind-egg first Night with black wings produced.

But Satyrus also, describing the tribes of the Alexandrians, beginning with Philopator who is also surnamed Ptolemy, says that Bacchus was his forefather. Satyrus says as follows, that Deïaneira was born from Bacchus and Althea daughter of Thestius. But from her and Hercules son of Jupiter, I believe was born Hyllus, from him Cleodemus, and in order Aristomachus, Temenus, Keisus, Maron, Thestius, Acous, Aristomidas, Caranus, Coinus, Turimmas, Perdiccas, Philip-pus, Aëropus, Alcetas, Amyntas, Bocrus, Meleager, Arsinoe, from her and Lagus, Ptolemy Soter, from him and Berenice, Ptolemy Philadelphus, from him and Arsinoe, Ptolemy Euergetes, from him and Berenice, daughter of Magas the king of Cyrene, Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus stands the relationship of the kings of Alexandria with Bacchus. Whence also the tribes are distinguished in the Dionysian district, of Althe, from Althea who was the wife of Bacchus, and daughter of Thestius, Deïaneira from the daughter of Bacchus and Althea, wife of Hercules ; from whence the tribes among them have their surnames : of Ariadne from the daughter of Minos and wife of Bacchus, the girl who fell in love with her own father, and lay with Bacchus in strange guise ; Thestis from Thestius the father of Althea : Thoantis from

Thoas son of Bacchus; Staphylis from Staphylus son of Bacchus; Euænis from Eunios son of Bacchus: Maronis from Maron son of Ariadne and Bacchus: for all these were sons of Bacchus. But there were also many other appellations and are even unto this day, the Heracleidæ called from Hercules; and from Apollo the Apollonidæ and the Apollonians, and from Poseidon (Neptune) the Poseidonians, and from Dis (Jupiter) the Dians and the Diogenæ.

8. And why need I enumerate the remaining multitude of such names and genealogies? So that all those who are called writers and poets and philosophers in every way carry on a mockery, as well as those also who listen to them. For they have rather written fables and idle talk about their gods, and have shown them to be not gods but men, some of them drunkards, others fornicators and murderers. But also concerning the generation of the world, they have recorded things inconsistent with themselves and worthless, first that some declared the world to be uncreated, as we showed before, and those who said that it was uncreated and nature eternal, said things not agreeing with those who declare it to be created. For they made those declarations on conjecture and by human thought, and not according to the truth. Others again have said that there is a providence, and have nullified the doctrines of the others. Aratus for instance says:—

From Jove begin we; men must not leave Jove
 Unsung; for all our ways are full of Jove,
 And all men's market-places, the sea too
 Is full, and harbours; all have need of Jove.
 His race we are: he merciful to men
 Gives fav'ring signs, calls people to their work,
 Reminding them of life, shows when the soil
 Is best to plough and dig, says when the hour
 Favours to trench plants, and to sow all seeds.

To whom then shall we trust, to this Aratus or to Sophocles who says [Æd. Tyr. 88],

Of naught is certain providence;
 'Tis best to live at random as one may.

Again Homer agrees with him : for he says,

Jove multiplies men's virtue and diminishes.

Simonides also,

Without the gods none ever virtue got,
Nor state, nor mortal, God is all in counsel :
Naught is in men without calamity.

So also Euripides,

To men can nothing be without the gods.

And Menander,

None takes thought for us, or else God alone

And again Euripides,

For when it seemeth good to God to save us,
He gives full many occasion for our safety.

And Thestius,

God willing, e'en upon a willow sailing,
You sail in safety.

And in a thousand other such expressions, they have spoken things inconsistent with themselves. Sophocles, for instance, in another place speaks of a want of providence :

No mortal overleaps the stroke of Jove.

But they have also introduced a multitude of gods or have described a monarchy, and, in opposition to those who have declared a providence, they have said there is none. Wherefore Euripides confesses in these words,

In vain we toil in hope 'bout many things,
Labour enduring, whilst we nothing know.

And they unwillingly confess that they know not the truth, but inspired by dæmons, and instigated by them, they said what they said, through them. For indeed the poets, Homer and Hesiod, as they say, inspired by the Muses, spoke from imagination and in error, and not by a pure spirit but a false one. It is clearly proved from this also, that those who are sometimes possessed with the dæmons up to the present day,

are exorcised in the name of the true God, and the false spirits themselves confess that they are dæmons, who at that time also operated upon those men. Sometimes, however, some of these getting their souls cleared from the influence of those dæmons spake things in harmony with the prophets, for a witness both to them and to all men, concerning the monarchy of God and the judgment, and the other things which they spoke about.

9. But the men of God, moved by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and becoming prophets, were inspired by God himself, and made wise, taught of God, and holy, and righteous. Wherefore also they were thought worthy to receive this recompence, becoming instruments of God, and receiving the wisdom which is from him, by which wisdom they spake also concerning the foundation of the world, and all the other subjects. For they also foretold about plagues, and famines, and wars. And these were not one or two, but many at various times and seasons among the Hebrews (and also the Sibyl among the Greeks), and they all spoke things in unison and harmony with one another, both of the things that happened before them, and the things of their own time, and the things that are now brought to completion among us. Wherefore also we are persuaded that it will be so in the case of future events also, according as the first events have been fulfilled.

10. And first they have taught us with one consent, that God made all things out of things not in being. For nothing was coeval with God : but being himself his own centre, and wanting nothing, and going back before all ages, he wished to create man to whom he might give a knowledge of himself. For him then he first made ready the world. For he that is created, also standeth in need, but he that is uncreated, needeth nothing. God then, having his own Word placed in his own bowels, begat him with his own wisdom, having sent him forth before all things. This Word he had as the minister of the things that were made by him, and by him he made all things. He is called the principle because he has the

principal authority and is lord over all the things that were made by him. He then being the Spirit of God, and the beginning, and the wisdom, and the power of the Highest, came down to the prophets, and through them spake about the creation of the world, and all the other things. For the prophets were not born when the world was made; but only the wisdom that was in him, the wisdom of God, and his holy Word that is ever present with him: Wherefore also he thus speaks by Solomon the prophet, "When he prepared the heavens, I was there; . . . when he made strong the foundations of the earth, I was with him arranging them." [Prov. viii.] But Moses who was also many years before Solomon, or rather the Word of God, says through him as through an instrument, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." [Gen. i, 1.] First he names the beginning and the creation: then he thus introduces God. For it is not right to name God idly and in vain. For the divine wisdom foreknew that some were likely to talk nonsense, and to name a multitude of gods that never existed. In order therefore that the true God might be known by his works, and that God made by his Word the heaven and the earth, and all things in them, he said "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." Then having mentioned the creation, he tells us, "But the earth was invisible and disordered, and darkness was over the deep, and a spirit of God was borne over the water." [Gen. i, 2, 3.] These things the Holy Scripture teaches among the first, that matter somehow was created, having been produced by God, from which God made and fashioned the world.

11. But the beginning of the creation is light; since light makes manifest things when set in order. Wherefore he says, "And God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good," namely, that it was good for man: "and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the

first day. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament : and it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day. And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear : and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth ; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas : and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth : and it was so. And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after his kind : and God saw that it was good. And the evening and the morning were the third day. And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night ; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years : And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth : and it was so. And God made two great lights ; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night : he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness : and God saw that it was good. And the evening and the morning were the fourth day. And God said, Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl that may fly above the earth in the open firmament of heaven. And God created great whales, and every living creature that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind : and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the

scas, and let fowl multiply in the earth. And the evening and the morning were the fifth day. And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat. And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat: and it was so. And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day. Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them. And on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all His work which He had made."

12. But no man is able worthily to set forth the description and full arrangement of the work of the six days, not even if he had ten thousand mouths and ten thousand tongues. Not even if a man should live ten thousand years, sojourning in this life, not even then would he be able to say anything suitably to such things, on account of their exceeding magnitude,

and the riches of the wisdom of God, found in this work of six days before mentioned. Many writers indeed have imitated it, and have tried to make a description about these things, and having taken from thence their hints, either about the creation of the world, or about the nature of man, have not even given forth a slender spark worthy of the truth. But the things said by the philosophers or writers and poets, seem to be worthy of belief, because they have been ornamented by style. But their meaning is shown to be foolish and vain, because the quantity of their bombastic words is great; and the smallest portion of truth is not found in them. For even also if anything seems to have been spoken by them truly, it is mixed up with error. For, as a deleterious drug mixed up with honey or wine, or any other thing, makes the whole hurtful and useless, so also their verbiage is found to be vain talk, and rather an injury to those who listen to it. As also concerning the seventh day, which all men speak of, but the greater number know nothing about: for what is called Sabbath among the Hebrews, is interpreted Hebdomas in Greek, which is named indeed over every nation of men, but they do not know for what reason they call it so. But whereas Hesiod the poet says that Erebus was born from Chaos, and the Earth, and that Love ruled, according to him, over gods and men, his expression is shown to be weak and cold, and foreign from the whole truth. For God ought not to be overcome by pleasure: since even prudent men abstain from all disgraceful pleasure and base desire.

13. But whereas also he begins below about earthly things and speaks of the creation of the things that were made, his conception is human, and humble and altogether weak, as referred to God. For man, who lives below, begins to build from the earth, and is unable to make properly even the roof, unless he has laid a foundation. But the power of God is shown from this, that he first makes out of nothing the things that be, according as he pleases. For the things that are impossible among men, are possible with God. Wherefore also

the prophet said that the creation of heaven first took place, spreading forth a sort of roof, when he says, In the beginning God created the heaven, that is, that heaven was made through the beginning [or principle], as we showed before. He says that the earth was virtually a groundwork and foundation, and the deep a multitude of waters, and darkness, because the heaven which was made by God, covered, as if it were a lid, the waters with the earth. But the spirit which was borne over the water, was what God gave to the creation to produce living animals, as the soul to a man, blending the thin with the thin, (for the spirit is thin and the water is thin) so that the spirit may nurture the water, and the water with the spirit may nurture the creation, pervading it in every direction. It was then one spirit, which, holding the place of light, was in the midst between the water and the heaven, in order that the darkness might in no manner communicate with the heaven which is nearer to God, before God said Let there be light. The heaven then being as a roof held together the matter, which was like earth: for another prophet, by name Esaias, spoke also concerning the heaven, saying [11, 22], "This is the God that made the heaven as a roof and spread it as a tent to dwell in." The command of God therefore, that is his word, shining like a lamp in a closed chamber, gave light to the earth beneath the heaven, having made the light separate from the world. And God called the light Day, but the darkness Night. Man would not have known how to call the light Day, or the darkness Night: nor indeed the other things, if he had not taken the naming from God who made them. In the first groundwork therefore of the history and of the formation of the world, Holy Writ spake not concerning this firmament, but concerning another heaven that is invisible to us, after which this heaven, which is visible to us, is called the firmament, on which is taken up the half of the water, that it may be for mankind in rains, showers and dew. But the other half of the water was left on the earth for rivers, and fountains, and seas. Whilst then the water

was still covering the earth, especially hollow places, God, through his word, made the water to be gathered together into one gathering, and the dry land to be visible, it having before been invisible. The land then becoming visible, was still unformed. God therefore formed and furnished it with all kinds of herbs and seeds and plants.

14. For the rest, consider the variety and diversified beauty and number of these things, and that the resurrection is shown forth by them, as a proof of the resurrection of all men which is about to be. For who will not admire when he reflects that a fig-tree grows from a small seed of a fig, or that the greatest trees grow from the other smallest seeds. But we say that the world is to us in the likeness of the sea. For as the sea, if it had not the flowing and the supply of rivers and fountains to support it, would long ago have been dried up from its saltness: thus also the world, if it had not the law of God and the prophets flowing and welling forth sweetness and mercy, and righteousness, and the doctrine of God's holy commandments, would already have fainted by the wickedness and sin that abounds in it. And, as the islands in the sea are some inhabited and well-watered, and produce fruit, having anchorages and harbours, to the end that those who are caught in a storm may have refuge therein: so God has given to the world, disturbed and beaten about by sin, places of meeting, that is holy churches, in which like the harbours having good anchorages in the islands, the true doctrines are: to which those who seek safety, flee for refuge, being lovers of the truth, and wishing to escape the anger and judgment of God. And as others of the islands are rocky and without water, and without fruit, and abound in wild beasts, and are uninhabitable, to the hurt of those who sail and encounter storms, in which their ships are crushed, and those who disembark upon them perish, so are the doctrines of error, I mean of the heresies, which destroy those who go over to them. For they are not guided by the word of truth, but as pirates, when they have filled their ships [with men],

run them in upon the aforesaid rocks, that they may destroy them, so it happens also to those who wander from the truth, that they are ruined by their error.

15. On the fourth day the great lights were made. For God, having foreknowledge, knew the idle talk of the vain philosophers, how they were likely to say that things which grow upon the earth were from the elements, to the end that they might set God at naught. That the truth therefore might be shown, the plants and the seeds were made earlier than the elements. For those things which are later cannot make the things which are before them. These things contain the model and type of a great mystery: for the sun is in the type of God; but the moon of man. And as the sun differs much from the moon in power and glory, so does God differ much from humanity; and, as the sun always remains full, never becoming less, so does God always remain perfect, being full of all power and intelligence and wisdom and immortality and all good things. But the moon wanes with the month, and decays in powers, being in the type of man; she is then born again and grows bigger, to furnish a demonstration of the resurrection that will be hereafter. In the same way also the three days that were before the great lights, are types of the triad of God, and of his word, and of his wisdom. But the fourth type is man that needs light, so that there may be God, the word, wisdom, man. On this account also on the fourth day were made the great lights. But the placing of the stars conveys to us the economy and order of those who are righteous and pious, and observe the law and the commandments of God. For the bright and shining stars are for the imitation of the prophets. Wherefore also they remain unvarying, never moving from place to place. But those which hold the second order of brightness, are types of the people of the just. Those again which change and flee from place to place, which are also called planets, are themselves also a type of the men who depart from God, and leave his law and his commandments.

16. On the fifth day were produced the animals from the waters, through which in these things also is shown the manifold wisdom of God. For who could number the multitude and variety of kind in them? Moreover also the things produced by the waters were blessed by God, that this also might be for a proof that men will receive repentance and remission of sins through water and the washing of regeneration, all those who come to the truth, and are born again, and receive blessing from God. But both the whales and the carnivorous birds are in the likeness of covetous men and of transgressors. For as fishes and birds, being of one nature, remain some of them in that which belongs to their nature, not injuring those which are weaker than themselves, but keep the law of God and eat from the seeds of the earth, but some of them transgress God's law by eating flesh and injure those which are weaker than themselves: so also just men, keeping the law of God, hurt or injure no one, but live righteously and justly, but the rapacious, murderers and atheists, are like whales, and wild beasts, and carnivorous birds; for by their power they devour those who are weaker than themselves. Thus the race of fishes and reptiles having a share in the blessing of God, have nothing peculiar to themselves.

17. On the sixth day, God, having made the quadrupeds and the wild beasts and the reptiles of the land, says nothing of blessing, leaving the blessing for man, whom he was about to create on the sixth day. But at the same time both the quadrupeds and the wild beasts were meant to be the type of some men who know not God and are unholy, and savour of earthly things, and do not repent. For those who turn from their lawlessness and live righteously, fly aloft in soul, like birds, savouring of the things that are above, and doing what is pleasing to the will of God. But those who know not God, and are unholy, are like the birds which have wings, but are not able to fly, and to run up to the heights of the deity. Thus also such are called men, but they savour of downward and earthly things, being weighed down by their sins. But

the wild beasts (*thereia*) are called so from their being hunted (*thereuo*), not as having been bad or deadly from the beginning: for nothing was made bad by God, but all things good and very good: and the sin of man made them bad. For man having transgressed, they also transgressed. For as, when the master of a house himself does right, his domestics also necessarily live in a well-regulated manner: but if the master offend, the servants also offend with him; in the same way also, if there be any sin in the man who is the master, the servants also sin with him. When therefore a man has gone back to that which is according to his nature, no longer doing ill, they also return to their original sinlessness.

18. But as to the subject of man's creation, the work bestowed upon it is indescribable for a man, though Holy Writ hath a short description about him. For in God's saying, I will make man after our image and after our likeness, first, he shows the dignity of man. For God, having made all things by his word, and deeming all things as accessaries only, looks upon the making of man as the only worthy work of his own hands. Further also, as needing assistance, God is found to say, Let *us* make man after our image and after our likeness. He said, Let *us* make, to no other than to his own word and to his own wisdom. But when he had made him, and blessed him to grow and fill the earth, he placed under him all things to be in subjection and to minister to him. But he appointed him also in the beginning to have his living from the fruits of the earth, and the seeds, and the herbs, and the fruits, and at the same time bade the animals to live with man, so that they also might eat from all the seeds of the earth.

19. Thus God, having completed the heaven and the earth, and the sea, and all things as many as are in them, on the sixth day, rested on the seventh day from all his works which he had made. Then Holy Writ sums up thus, saying, This is the book of the generation of heaven and of the earth, when they were made, in the day that God made the heaven and

the earth, and every herb of the field before it was made, and every grass of the field before it grew. For God had not rained upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground [Gen. ii, 4, 5]. By this he signified to us that all the earth also at that time was watered by a divine fountain, and had no need that man should work it, but the earth shed forth all things spontaneously by the command of God, that man might not faint with labour. But that the making may be plainly shown, so that it might not appear to be an endless question among men, whereas it was said by God, "Let us make man," and the making of him has not yet been declared, the Scripture teaches us saying, "A fountain went up from the earth, and watered the whole face of the earth, and God made man mould from the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man was made into a living soul" [Gen. ii, 6, 7]. Wherefore also the soul has been named immortal by most men. But after he made man, God chose out for him a place in the regions of the east, superior in light, shining with a brighter atmosphere, and having all kinds of good plants, in which he placed the man.

20. Scripture thus embraces the words of the Sacred History : "And God planted the garden of Eden in the east, and placed there the man whom he had formed, and God caused to grow out of the ground every tree that is beautiful to the sight, and good for food ; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. But a river went forth out of Eden to water the garden : from thence it is separated into four heads. The name of the one is Phison : this is it which compasseth all the land of Evilat, where there is gold : but the gold of that land is good : there is also carbuncle and the onyx-stone. And the name of the second river is Geon : this compasseth all the land of Ethiopia ; and the third river is Tigris : this is that which goeth out over against the Syrians. But the fourth river is Euphrates. And the Lord God took the man which he had made, and placed him in the garden to dress it

and to keep it, and God commanded Adam, saying, From every tree in the garden thou shalt freely eat, but from the tree of knowing good and evil, thou shalt not eat from it. In the day that thou eatest from it, thou shalt surely die. And the Lord God said, It is not good for the man to be alone, let us make for him an help meet for him. And God made moreover out of the earth all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, and brought them to Adam, and every thing which Adam called them, every living soul, this is the name of it. And Adam called names for all the cattle, and for all the birds of heaven, and for all the beasts of the field. But for Adam was not found an help like to him. And God threw a trance over Adam, and he slept, and he took one of his ribs, and filled up the flesh instead of it, and the Lord God formed the rib which he had taken from Adam into a woman, and led her to Adam, and Adam said, This now is bone out of my bones, and flesh out of my flesh. She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man. On this account shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be into one flesh. And the two were naked, both Adam and his wife, and were not ashamed." [Gen. ii, 10-25.]

21. "Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with

her; and he did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons. And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden. And the Lord God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself. And He said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? And the man said, The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat. And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." [Gen. iii. 1-19.]

22. You will say to me then, you tell me that God cannot be comprised in place: how then do you now say that he

walked in the garden? Hear what I say. The God and Father of all things is not to be contained, and is not found in space; for there is no place of rest for him. But his word, by which he made all things, being his power and his wisdom, taking the form of the father and lord of all things, came into the garden in the person of God, and conversed with Adam. For Holy Writ also itself teaches us that Adam said he heard the voice. Now what else is a voice, but the word of God, which is also his son? Not as the poets and mythographers mean, sons born of copulation, but as truth describes the word, which is even more implanted in the bosom of God. For before anything was made, God had him for a counsellor, which was his own mind and prudence. But when God wished to do whatever things he intended, he begat this Word, uttered forth, first-begotten of all creation, not depriving himself of the word, but begetting a Word, and conversing always with his Word. Whence the holy scriptures teach us, and all those who received the spirit, of whom John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" showing that at first God was alone, and in him the Word. Then he says, "And the Word was God. All things were made through him, and without him was not even one thing made." The Word then being God, and born from God, whenever the Father of all things pleases, he sends him into a place, and coming thither he is both heard and seen, being sent by him, and he is thus found in space.

23. God then made man on the sixth day, but he manifested the formation of him after the seventh day, when also he made the garden, that he might be in a better place and a superior abode. And the fact itself shows that these things are true. For how can we fail to perceive the pangs which women suffer in child-birth, whilst yet after this they feel forgetfulness of the pain, that the word of God might be fulfilled, to the increasing and multiplying of the race of men? How can we fail to see the condemnation of the serpent also, how

hateful he is, crawling upon his belly and eating the dirt : that this also may be to us for a proof of the things we have before said ?

24. God then further produced out of the earth every tree fair to look on, and good for food, for in the beginning were those only that were produced on the third day, plants and seeds and herbs, but those in the garden were produced of superior beauty and elegance : since also it was named the nursery planted by God : and the world also had the other plants like unto them : but the two trees, the one of life, and the other of knowledge, the rest of the earth had not : but these were in the garden alone. But that the garden is the earth, and planted on the earth, the Scripture saith, and God planted a garden in Eden, towards the east, and placed there the man, and God produced further from the earth every tree beautiful to the sight, and good for food. Now in the words "from the earth," and "in the east," Holy Writ clearly teaches us that the garden is under the heaven, which the east also and the earth are under. That which is called Eden in Hebrew, is interpreted delight. He signified that a river went forth out of Eden, watered the garden, and from thence was parted into four heads : two of which, those called Phison and Geon, water the eastern parts, especially the Geon, which encompasses all the land of Æthiopia, which they say appears in Egypt as called the Nile. But the other two rivers are clearly known among us, those called the Tigris and the Euphrates. For they border upon our climates. But God, when He had placed man, as we have before said, in the garden, to work it and take care of it, commanded him to eat from all the fruits, that is, also from the tree of life, but he commanded him not to eat from the tree of knowledge. But God removed him from the earth, out of which he had been made, into the garden, giving him a starting-point of advancement, that growing and becoming perfect, and further also being declared a god, he might so also ascend into heaven. For the man had been half-way, neither mortal wholly, nor

immortal generally, but capable of both : so also the place, the garden, as for beauty, was made half-way between the world and heaven ; having immortality. But by the expression *work*, he signifies no other labour, but keeping the commandment of God, so that he might not ruin himself by disobedience, as also he ruined himself by sin.

25. The tree of knowledge was in itself good, and its fruit good. For it was not the tree that conveyed the death, as some think, but the transgression. There was nothing else in the fruit, but only knowledge. For knowledge is good, when one uses it properly. But Adam, in his age, was still a child ; wherefore he was not yet able to contain knowledge. For even now, when a child is born, he is not at once able to eat bread, but is first fed with milk, and then, with the progress of his age, he comes also to solid food. Thus it would have been to Adam also. Wherefore also God, not from being jealous of him, as some think, bade him not eat from the tree of knowledge. Further also he wishes to prove him, if he was obedient to his commandment : but at the same time also he wished the man to remain for a longer time simple and innocent as a child. For this is holy, not only with God, but also among men, to be subject to one's parents in simplicity and innocence. But, if it behoves children to be subject to their parents, how much more to the God and Father of all ? Further also it is unseemly for infant children to be high-minded above their age. For as a man grows with time to a standard, so does he also in his mind. But as, when a law commands a man to withhold from any thing, and he does not listen, it is manifest that it is not the law which gives the punishment, but his disobedience and transgression. For a father also sometimes commands his own son to abstain from things, and, when he is not obedient to his father's injunction, he is beaten and gets punishment for his transgression : and at once it is not those things which cause the stripes, but the transgression creates insolence in him who is disobedient. Thus also transgression caused to the first man that he should be cast

out of the garden,—not as if the tree of knowledge had any thing hurtful in it: but the man drew toil, sorrow, and pain from his transgression, and in the end fell under death.

26. And God did a great benefit to man in this, that he did not continue to be in sin for ever, but somehow, in the manner of exile, He cast him out of the garden, that through punishment, when he had paid the penalty of his sin for a fixed time and been chastened, he might afterwards be called back. Wherefore also when the man was created in this world, it is written under the form of a mystery in Genesis, as if he had twice been placed in the garden; so that the once was fulfilled when he was placed, but the second time will be fulfilled after the resurrection and the judgment. Not but that, as a vessel, when on being made it has any fault, is remelted or remodeled, that it may become again new and whole, so is it also with man by death. For he is virtually broken, that he may be found whole at the resurrection, I mean spotless and righteous, and immortal. But as to God's having called and said, Where art thou, Adam? God did it, not because He was ignorant of this point, but being long-suffering, He gave him an occasion of repentance and of confession.

27. But some one then will say to us, Was man by nature mortal? By no means. What then, immortal? Nor do we say even that. Some one will say, Was he then nothing? Nor yet that, say I. He was then by nature neither mortal nor immortal. For if God had made him immortal from the first, he would have made him a god. Again, if He had made him mortal, God would have been thought to have been the cause of his death. He made him then neither immortal nor mortal, but, as we have said above, capable of both, to the end that, if he inclined towards immortality, keeping the commandment of God, he might receive from Him immortality as his reward, and become a god. But if on the other hand he should turn to the deeds of death, disobeying God, he would be the cause of death to himself. For God made man

free and independent. What therefore he got for himself by neglect and transgression, this God now concedes to him out of his singular love for man, and his mercy towards men obedient to him. For as man by transgressing gained for himself death, so by obedience to the will of God, he who pleases may secure for himself everlasting life. For God gave us a law and holy commandments, which every one who performs is able to be saved, and, obtaining resurrection, to inherit immortality.

28. But Adam being cast out of the garden, thus knew Eve his wife, whom God made for him out of his rib to be his wife. But he did this too, not as being unable to make a wife for him independently, but God foreknew, that men were likely to name a multitude of gods. Being therefore possessed of foreknowledge, and knowing that error through the serpent was about to name a multitude of gods that had no being; (for, though there is but one God, error already from that time designed to disseminate a number of gods, and to say Ye shall be as gods). Lest therefore it should be suspected that one god made man and another god made woman; for this reason he made both the two: not but that also through the same means might be shown the mystery of God's rule. But at the same time God made his wife, [and they two shall be one flesh, which indeed itself also is shown to be perfected in ourselves; for who that lawfully marries does not despise his mother and father, and his kindred and all?] and, in order that the good will between them may be greater, Adam then said to Eve, This now is bone out of my bones, and flesh out of my flesh. Moreover also he prophesied, saying, For this reason shall a man leave his father, and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh: which indeed also is shown to be perfected in ourselves. For who that lawfully marries does not neglect his mother and father, and all his kindred, and all his friends, cleaving and making himself one with his own wife, having good will rather towards her? Wherefore also oftentimes some

are perilled even to death for the sake of their wives. This Eve then, from her having at first been led into error by the serpent, and been the leader in sin ; the evil dæmon, who is also called Satan, who then spoke to her, through the serpent, working even until now in those men who are inspired by him, calls Eve. But the dæmon is called also the *dragon*, because he *dragged* himself away from God. For he was an angel at first, and there is a long story about him. Wherefore at present I pass over the relation about him. For also the story about him has been given by us elsewhere.

29. By Adam then knowing his wife Eve, she conceiving bare a son, whose name was Cain, and she said, I have gotten a man through God. And she added further to bear a second son, whose name was Abel, who began to be a tender of sheep. But Cain worked the ground. Now the events that befel them comprise a longish history, and arrangement of narrative. Wherefore the book itself, which is inscribed The Generation of the World, may more accurately teach the facts of the history to those who wish to learn. When then Satan saw Adam and his wife not only alive, but also having got children, whereby he was unable to kill them, urged by jealousy, when he saw Abel pleasing God, he worked upon his brother who was called Cain, and made him slay his brother Abel. And thus the beginning of death came into this world, to extend over all man's race down to the present time. But God, being merciful, and wishing to allow to Cain an opportunity of repentance and confession, as also to Adam, said, "Where is thy brother Abel?" But Cain answered God disobediently, saying, "I know not: am I my brother's keeper?" Thus God being angry with him said, "Why hast thou done this? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth to me from the ground, which has yawned to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand: but thou shalt be groaning and trembling upon the earth." From that time the earth, terror-stricken, no longer soaks up man's blood, nor that of any

living thing ; whereby it is still more clear that she is not the cause, but man himself, who transgressed.

30. Now Cain himself had a son whose name was Enoch, and he built a city, which he called by the name of his son Enoch. From that time was the beginning of cities being built, and this before the flood, not as Homer falsely says [Il. v, 215, 216.] :

No town of vocal men had yet been built.

To this Enoch was born a son named Gaidad, who begat one named Meel, and Meel Mathusala, and Mathusala Lamech : but Lamech took two wives, whose names were Ada and Sela. From that time was the beginning of polygamy, and also of music. For to Lamech were born three sons, Obel, Jubal, Thobel. And Obel was a man living in tents : Jubal is he who invented the lyre and harp : but Thobel was a smith, a brazier of brass and iron. Down to him the seed of Cain was catalogued, and afterwards the seed of his genealogy fell into oblivion, on account of his having killed his brother. But in the place of Abel, God granted that Eve should conceive and bear a son, who was called Seth : from whom proceeds the remaining race of men down to the present time. But to those who wish to learn, it is easy to give information about the generations, out of the Holy Scriptures. For in part also we have already given a narrative in another work, as we have said above, the order of the genealogy in the first book concerning history. The Holy Spirit given through Moses and the rest of the prophets, teaches us all these things, so that the writings which belong to us who worship God are more ancient, and also are shown to be more true than all the writers and poets. But as regards music also ; some have boasted that Apollo was its inventor : but others say that Orpheus invented music from the sweet voice of birds. But their account is shown to be empty and vain : for these lived many years after the flood. But as regards Noë, who was called by some Deucalion, we have given an account of him in the book before spoken of, which, if you please, you also may look at.

31. After the flood again there was a beginning of cities and kings, in this wise. The first city was Babylon, and Orech, and Archath, and Chalene in the land of Senaar : and there was a king of these, by name Nebroth. From these came one named Assur, whence also they are named Assyrians. Nebroth built the cities of Nineveh and Roboom, and Calak, and Dasen, in the middle between Nineveh and Calak. But Nineveh was in particular a great city. The other son of Shem, son of Noë, by name Misraim, begat the Ludonims, and those called Enemigims, and the Labieims, and the Nephthalims, and the Patrosonims, and the Chaslonieins, from whence came forth the Philistiim. Now of the three sons of Noë, and of their consummation, and genealogy, the catalogue was given by us in brief, in the book which we mentioned before. And now we will mention also what remains concerning the cities and kings, and of the things which took place when there was one lip, and one tongue. Before the languages were divided, these were the cities aforesaid. But when they were on the point of being dispersed about, they took counsel by their own judgment, and not through God, to build a city, and a tower, the top of which should aim to reach to heaven, that they might make to themselves a name of reputation. Since then they dared to do a rash deed contrary to the will of God, God cast down their city, and levelled their tower. From that time he changed the languages of men, giving to each a different dialect. The Sibyl thus signified it, declaring that wrath was about to come upon the world : her words run thus :

But when the great God has fulfilled the threat,
He once held forth to men, who built the tower
Upon Assyrian ground, all spoke one speech,
And aimed to mount up to the starry heav'n.
At once th' Immortal breathed their mightiest force
Into the winds, which cast down from its height
The tower, and made men foes to one another.
But when the tower had fallen, and tongues of mortals

Had been divided into many speeches,
The earth was filled with various mortal kings.

And so on. Now these things were done in the land of the Chaldæans: but in the land of Canaan was a city, named Charran. But in those times the first king of Egypt was Pharaoh, who also was called Nechaoth according to the Egyptians, and then came the kings after him. But in the land of Senaar, among the people called Chaldæans, the first king was Arioch, after him another Ellasar: and after him Chodollagomor king of Ælam, and after him Thargal king of the nations called Assyrians. But there were also five cities in the portion of Cham son of Noc; first, that called Sodom, then Gomorrha, Adama, and Seboim, and that which is called Segor. And the names of their kings are these, Ballas king of Sodom, Barsas king of Gomorrha, Adamas king of Senaar, Hymor king of Seboim, Balach king of Segor, that is also called Cephalak. These were subject to Chodollagomor king of the Assyrians as long as twelve years: but in the thirteenth year they revolted from Chodollagomor: and thus it then happened that the four kings of the Assyrians joined in war against the five kings. This was the first beginning of there being wars upon the earth. And they slew the giants Caranaïm, and strong nations with them in the city, and the Chorræans who dwell in the mountains named Seïr as far as the turpentine-tree so called of Pharan, which is in the desert. About the same time there was a righteous king, named Melchisedek, in the city of Salem, which is now Jerusalem. He was the first priest of all the priests of the most high God: from him the city aforesaid, Hiesorolyma, was called Jerusalem. From him also priests were found to arise over all the world. After him reigned Abimelech in Gerar, and after him another Abimelech: then reigned Ephron who was also surnamed Chettæus. Concerning these then who before were kings, such are their names. But let the remaining kings of the Assyrians for an interval of many years be kept back from being mentioned, seeing that all

name the latest in chronology nearest to our own times. Those who were kings of the Assyrians were Theglaphasar; after him Selamanasar; then Senacharim. His triarch was Adramelech the Æthiopian, who also was king of Egypt: though these things, as far as regards our writings, are much more recent.

32. From hence then may those who love learning and antiquities, determine histories, where the events related to us are modern, without the authority of the holy prophets. For the men at that time in the land of Arabia and Chaldæa being few at first, after the languages were divided, by degrees began to become many and to multiply over all the earth. And some turned towards the east to dwell, some towards the parts of the great continent, and towards the north, so that they reached as far as the Britons in the northern regions. Others occupied the land of Canaan, and Judæa, and the country called Phœnicia, and the parts of Æthiopia, and of Egypt, and Libya, and that called the Torrid region and the climes that stretch as far as the west. But the others chose the parts which reach from the sea-shore, and from Pamphylia, and Asia, and Greece, and Macedonia, and lastly Italy, and the countries called Gaul, and the Spains, and the Germanies; so that at present the whole earth is filled with those who inhabit it. The residence then of the men upon the earth at first having been threefold, in the east, and the south, and the west, afterwards also the other parts of the world were peopled, when men became thick together. But writers not knowing these things endeavour to describe the world as spherical-like, and to compare it to a cube. But how can they decide these things truly, if they do not understand the creation of the world, or its peopling? When men gradually increased, and multiplied upon the earth, as we have said before, the isles also of the sea were thus peopled, and the other climates.

33. Who then as regards these things of the so-called wise men, and poets, or historiographers, has been able to speak

the truth, seeing that they were much more modern, and introduced a number of gods, who were born so many years after the cities, the latest both of kings, and of nations, and of wars? For they ought to have made mention of all those also, who were before the deluge : and concerning the creation of the world, and the making of man, and the things which happened afterwards, the Egyptian prophets or Chaldæans ; and the other writers ought to have given accurate accounts, if even they spoke with a divine and pure spirit, and proclaimed the truth which was spoken through them. And they ought to have declared not only past events and present, but also those things which were about to happen to the world. Wherefore it is shown that all the others have been led astray, but only we Christians have spoken the truth, who are taught by the holy spirit, which spake in the holy prophets, and foretold all things.

34. For the rest, be it your part to examine kindly the things of God, I mean the things that were spoken by the prophets, so that, by comparing the things said by us, and those said by the others, you may be able to find out the truth. Now as to the names of the gods so-called, that they are found to be names of men among them, as we have shown in what goes before, we have proved from the histories themselves, which they wrote. But their likenesses are being daily fashioned out down to the present time, idols, the works of men's hands : and the multitude of vain men pay worship to them ; but set at naught the Maker and Creator of the whole, and the nurturer of all life, in accordance with their vain doctrines, by an error handed down from their fathers of unsound mind. God, the Father and Creator of all things, did not abandon human nature, but gave a law, and sent holy prophets, to declare and teach man's race, to the end that each one of us should wake up and recognise that there is one God. They also taught to abstain from unlawful idol-worship, and adultery, and murder, fornication, theft, covetousness, perjury, anger, and every impiety and impurity and

that all those things which a man would not wish to be done to himself, he should also not do to another, and so the man that doeth righteousness, may escape everlasting punishment, and be thought worthy of eternal life by God.

35. The divine law forbids us to worship not only idols, but also the elements, sun, moon, or the other stars : but also to worship the heaven, or the earth, or the sea, or the fountains, or rivers, but we must worship only the true God and Maker of all things, in holiness of heart and sincerity of mind. Wherefore the holy law says, Thou shalt not commit adultery ; thou shalt not kill ; thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not bear false witness ; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife ; [Exod. xx, 14.] And in like manner also the prophets. Solomon teaches us not to sin even by a nod, saying, Let thine eyes look righteous ; let thine eye-lids look righteously [Prov. iv, 24]. But Moses also himself a prophet says concerning the monarchy of God, "This is your God, who fixeth the heaven, and stablishes the earth, whose hands have shown all the host of heaven, and hath not shown them to you that you should go after them." The prophet Esaias also himself says, "Thus saith the Lord God, who fixed the heaven, and who stablished the earth, and the things in it, and gives breath to the people who are upon it, and spirit to those who tread it, he is the Lord your God" [Is. xlii, 5]. And again, through the same, "I," he says, "made the earth, and man upon it : I fixed the heaven with my hand" [Is. xlv, 12]. And in another chapter, "This is your God, who laid the ends of the earth ; he shall not hunger, nor be weary, nor is there any searching out of his prudence" [Is. xl, 28]. In the same manner Jeremiah also says [x. 12], He who made the earth in his power, and set up the world in his wisdom, both spread out the heaven in his prudence, and the mass of water in heaven, and brought up clouds from the extremity of the earth, made the lightning for hail, and brought forth the winds out of his treasures." You may see how all the prophets spoke in harmony and unison, proclaiming with one and the same

spirit, both concerning God's kingdom, and the generation of the world, and the creation of man. Not but that they also suffered anguish, lamenting the ungodly race of men; and they put to shame those who seemed to be wise, on account of their error and the hardness of their heart. Jeremiah says [x, 14, 15; and li, 17, 18], Every man was made foolish by his knowledge: every god-founder is put to shame from his carvings: in vain the silver-worker works silver: there is no breath in them: in the day of their visitation they shall perish. David also says the same [Ps. xiv, 2]: They were corrupted and made abominable in their devices: there is none that doeth good, no not one. All they turned aside, and at the same time became useless. In the same way also Abbacuc [ii, 18]; What profits a man his carving, that he carved it a false image? Woe to him that saith to the stone Awake, and to the wood, Arise! In like manner spake also the other prophets of the truth. And of what use is it to me to enumerate the multitude of prophets who are so many, and who spake ten thousand things in accordance and in harmony? For those who wish, by reading the things said through them, may accurately know the truth, and not be led aside by imagination and useless labour. Those, then, whom we have before named, were prophets among the Hebrews, uneducated men, shepherds and ignorant.

36. But the Sibyl among the Greeks, and who was a prophetess, among the other nations also, in the beginning of her prophesy, upbraids the human race, saying,

Ye mortal fleshly men, who nothing are,
 How quick ye swell, seeing no end of life;
 Nor fear nor care for God who looks down on you.
 Most Highest, who knows, sees, witnesses all things,
 Nurturer and Creator, who in all
 His spirit placed, making it guide for all men.
 One God who reigns alone, great, unbegotten,
 Omnipotent, unseen, alone sees all,
 But is not seen by any human flesh.
 What flesh can see with eye the heavenly, true,

Immortal God, who dwelleth in the pole ?
 Not e'en against the sunbeams are men able
 To stand, men mortal-born, bones, veins, and flesh.
 Him worship ye, the sole lord of the world,
 Who only was from ever and for ever,
 Self-born, and unbegot, e'er ruling all things.
 Judging all mortals in the common light.
 Ye shall have due reward of evil counsel,
 That ceasing to adore the true God and eternal,
 And holy sacrifice to him to offer,
 Ye offered sacrifice to devils in hell.
 Ye walk in pride and madness, the true path
 And strait deserting, ye have gone a path
 Through thorns and ditches ; whither are ye wandering ?
 Cease, rash men, in the dark black night to stray !
 And leave night's shadows and embrace the light.
 He is to all men clear, from error free,
 Come, follow not the dark and gloom for ever.
 Behold, the sweet light of the sun shines bright.
 Be wise and harbour wisdom in your breasts.
 There is one God, who sends rains, winds, and earthquakes,
 Lightnings, dearths, pestilence, and bitter woes,
 And snows, and ice. Why name I each thing singly ?
 He governs heaven, rules earth, himself exists.

And of those who are said to have been produced, she speaks thus :—

If what is born may perish, then God cannot
 Be sprung from loins of man or woman's womb.
 But God is one, alone, o'er all, who made
 Heaven, and the sun, and stars, and moon, and earth
 That yieldeth fruits, and the sea's watery waves.
 And mountains high, and fountains ever flowing.
 He further gave life to unnumbered fishes,
 Reptiles that move on earth, chill damp-dew'd vermin,
 And various kinds of shrill-tongued, bleating beasts,
 Tawny, shrill-speaking, beating the air with wings.
 And in the mountain-thickets placed wild beasts.
 And subjected all cattle to us men.
 And made man, formed by God, the lord of all,
 Various and numberless to man made subject.
 What flesh of mortals can know all these things ?
 But he who made these things at first can know them.

Imperishable maker and eternal,
In heaven he dwells, and holds forth to the good
Good and abundant recompence, to bad
Unrighteous wrath and anger, war and plague,
Sorrows and tears. Why, mortals, are ye proud
Only to work your downfall? Shame on you, cats and insects
You make your gods : frenzy and madness yours
And useless burdens, if your gods steal plates
And pots, and 'stead of seats in starry heaven
Look out for worm-gnawed bits, cover'd with spiders.
Ye fools worship snakes, dogs, cats, bowing down
To birds of air, and creeping things of earth.
Figures of stone, and idols made with hands,
And stone-heaps in your streets—these things you worship,
And many vain things else, 'twere base to name.
Deceitful gods are these of foolish men,
From out their mouth is deadly poison pour'd.
But from whom life and everlasting light,
And joy to men sweeter than sweetest honey,
Is poured to him alone, should knee be bent,
Or feet be turned into his pious paths.
Leaving all this, the cup of righteousness
Pure, strong and full, but not too wisely mixed,
You all have drained with spirit stung to madness.
And will not rouse you, or to prudence turn
Or know your king and God, whose eye sees all things.
Hence hath the blast of scorching fire come o'er you,
And flames, all day, for ever shall consume you,
Stricken with shame for your false worthless idols.
But those who God eternal, true, do worship
Shall everlasting life inherit, they
Shall dwell in paradise's lovely garden
Eating sweet food down from the starry heaven.

It is manifest that these things are true and useful, and just, and agreeable to all mankind.

37. Also that those who have done ill, will necessarily be punished according to the merit of their deeds, already both some of their poets have declared to them in the way of oracles, and as a warning to those who do unjust deeds, saying that they will be punished. Æschylus says :

To him that does wrong, suffering too is due.

Pindar also says :

For him that does aught, suffering too is fitting.

In like manner also Euripides,

Bear bravely now you suffer ; for you did
The deed triumphantly ; 'tis fair to punish
One's foe, when he is caught.

And again the same,

I deem it manly deed one's foe to punish.

In like manner also Archilochus,

One great rule I know well ; the man who serves you
An evil turn, should ill be served himself.

Also that God over-sees all things, and nothing escapes him : he is long-suffering and waits until he is ready to judge : concerning this also Dionysius has spoken,

The eye of justice, though it looks so mildly,
Yet comprehends all things within its gaze.

Also that the judgment of God will take place, and evil suddenly seize on the wicked, this also Æschylus has signified, saying,

Evil swift-footed comes on men,
And they shall stumble who transgress the right.
You see how justice stands unseen and speechless.
Yet, whether sleeping, walking, or sitting still,
She duly comes upon her tortuous path,
Hereafter, night ne'er covers evil deeds.
But every evil deed, think some one sees.

What hath not Simonides also said ?

Nothing is unexpected to mankind,
In shortest time God upsets all their plans.

Again Euripides,

Never prosperity
Of evil man, or high-minded wealth
Should we pronounce secure,
Nor sons of sinners.
For time that has no parent
Sets forth the crimes of men.

Again Euripides, [Iph. in Aul. 395]

God is no fool, nor fails to understand
Oaths sworn in sin and crime, by force extorted.

And Sophocles,

If thou do ill, ill shalt thou suffer too.

Thus then they also have almost foretold, about unjust oaths, or any other crime, that God will inquire into it; and also concerning the conflagration of the world, whether willing or not, they have spoken in harmony with the prophets, although they were much later, and stole these things out of the law and the prophets.

38. But what matters it whether they were last or first, save at least that they also spoke in harmony with the prophets? Concerning the conflagration of the world Malachi the prophet foretold, [iv, 1] Behold the day of the Lord cometh as a burning oven, and shall burn up all the wicked. And Esaias, [xxx, 28-30] For the anger of God shall come as hail carried along by force, and as water rushing in the valley. Now the Sibyl, and the other prophets, as also the poets, and the philosophers, have also shown concerning righteousness, and judgment, and punishment. In the matter of providence moreover, God takes thought, not only for us who are alive, but for the dead also: they all indeed said this; for they were compelled by truth to say so. And of the prophets indeed, Solomon has spoken concerning the dead, [Prov. v, 8] It shall be health to thy flesh, and healing of thy bones. The same thing also said David [Ps. 1, 8], The bones that have been humbled shall rejoice. Timocles also spake things in unison with these, saying,

God kindly showeth pity to the dead.

And the writers who have spoken of the number of the gods, have come to a single government, and speaking against a providence, have spoken for providence, and speaking against a judgment, have acknowledged that there will be a judgment,

and those who denied that there will be sensation after death, have acknowledged it. Homer, who says [*Od.* 20, 221],

And his soul flitting like a dream departed,

says in another place, [*Il.* 16, 856 and 22, 362]

The soul, his bosom leaving, went to Hades.

And again, [*Il.* 23, 71]

Entomb me, that to Hades I may pass.

Concerning the other writers whom you have read, I think you know well how they have spoken. Every one that seeketh the wisdom of God, and pleases him by faith and righteousness and well-doing, will understand all these things. For a prophet, named Osee, one of those we have before spoken of, hath said [*xiv*, 10], Who is wise and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? For the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the wicked shall be weak in them. It therefore behoves the man who would learn much to love learning. Endeavour therefore frequently to put together, how, by hearing the living voice, you may thoroughly learn the truth.

BOOK III.

Theophilus to Autolytus, Health! Since writers are ready to write a multitude of books, with a view to vain glory, some concerning the gods, and wars, and chronology, and some also about useless mythology, and other labour in vain, which you also up to this time have studied, and do not hesitate to persevere in that labour, but though you have conferred with us, still deem it folly to read the word of truth, thinking that our writings are late and modern: wherefore indeed I also will not be loth to sum up to you, God willing, the antiquity of our writings, reminding you in few words, that you should

not hesitate to read it, and to perceive the vanities of the others who have written.

2. For those writers ought to have been eye-witnesses of the things about which they are so confident, or to have learnt them accurately from those who had seen them. For those who write uncertain history, in a manner beat the air. What did it profit Homer to have written the war of Ilion, and to have deceived many? Or Hesiod, the table of the genealogy of the gods named by him? or Orpheus the three hundred and sixty-five gods whom he sets at naught at the end of his life, saying in his *Instructions* that there is one god? What did the spherography of the heavenly circle profit Aratus, or those who said the same as he, except the glory of men, and they did not worthily obtain even that? What have they said that is true? Or what did their tragedies profit Euripides and Sophocles and the other writers of tragedy? or their comedies Menander and Aristophanes, and the other comic writers? Or Herodotus and Thucydides their histories? Or Pythagoras the *sanctum sanctorum* and the Pillars of Hercules? Or Diogenes the Cynic philosophy? Or Epicurus his dogma that there is no providence? Or Empedocles, his teaching atheism? Or Socrates his swearing by the dog, the goose, and the plane-tree; and Æsculapius struck by lightning, and the dæmons which he invoked? To what end also did he die willingly? What and what like reward did he hope to get after death? How did Plato's system of teaching profit him? Or the rest of the philosophers their dogmas?—not to repeat the whole number of them, because they are so many. We say these things to show their unprofitable and atheistical doctrine.

3. For all these, falling in love with vain and rash glory, neither knew the truth themselves, nor turned others to the truth: for even the very things they said refute them, inasmuch as they said inconsistent things: and the greater number of them upset their own doctrines. For they not only overthrew one another, but some of them even nullified their own doctrines. So that their glory ended in disgrace and

folly : for they are condemned by men of sense. For they either spoke of the gods, and then taught atheism ; or, if they spoke of the origin of the world also, they finally said that spontaneousness was the source of all things. But speaking also of providence, they afterwards held that the world was without a providence. But what? did they not also, whilst essaying to write about goodness, teach men to commit impurities, and fornications, and adulteries? and did they not introduce also horrible unspeakabilities? They declare that their gods first introduced criminal conversations not to be named, and feastings of unlawful nature. Which of them does not sing of Saturn who devoured his own children? that Jupiter swallowed his child Metis, and placed a horrible banquet before the gods? where also they say that Vulcan a lame smith waited upon them : and that Juno not only married her own brother Jupiter, but also perpetrated unspeakable deeds with her unholy mouth : and the other adventures about him, which the poets sing, you very likely know. Why need I further enumerate the tales about Neptune, and Apollo, or Bacchus, and Hercules, Minerva, Philocolpus, and Venus the immodest, seeing that we have written the account of them in another book?

4. For neither ought I to pull to pieces these doctrines, except because I see you are in doubt about the word of truth. For though you are wise, you willingly put up with fools ; otherwise you would not be moved so as to be led away with vain words by foolish men, and listen to foregone reports, from the impious tongues which falsely calumniate us, who are called worshipers of God and Christians, and which say that our wives are common to all, and unite in miscellaneous copulation, ay, and that we have connexion even with our own sisters, and, what is most atheistic and savage of all, that we eat every kind of human flesh. Also, seeing that our story is come to light recently, that we also have nothing to say in proof of the truth among us, and of our doctrine, but they say that our story is foolishness. I wonder indeed much at

you, who, though good in other respects, and an inquirer into all things, listen to us negligently. For, if it were possible for you, you did not use to hesitate to pass even the night in the libraries.

5. Since then you have read much, what did you think of the doctrines of Zeno, or Diogenes, and Cleanthes, which their books contain, teaching to eat human flesh, that fathers should be cooked and eaten by their own children, and, if any one is unwilling or casts from him any piece of that horrible meal, that he should be eaten, who would not eat it. Compared with these another saying is found still more atheistical, that of Diogenes, who taught that children should lead their own parents to sacrifice, and eat them. But what does not Herodotus the historian relate, that Cambyzes, having slain the children of Harpagus, and cooked them, placed them as food before their father? Moreover among the Indians also, he says that the fathers were eaten by their own children. Oh for the atheistic doctrine of those who write, or rather teach such things! Oh for their impiety and atheism! Oh for the sentiments of those who have earnestly held such philosophy, and taught their philosophy! For those who have put forth such doctrines have filled the world with impiety.

6. Also concerning those unholy practices, it has been agreed by almost all, who have wandered in the arena of philosophy. And first Plato, who seems to have held the best philosophy among them, especially in that which is inscribed the first book of his Republic, lays down a law in a certain manner that the wives of all are common, citing as an example the son of Jupiter, and lawgiver of the Cretans, that by reason there may be a large family of children from such, and because it was right that those who bore toils should be compensated by such intercourses. But Epicurus himself also, together with his teaching atheism, advises that men should have intercourse both with their mothers and sisters, even in transgression of the laws which forbid this. For Solomon also clearly made a law about this also, in order that

children may be lawfully born from the man who married a wife, in order that the children might not be born of fornication, that no one might honour as his father one who was not his father, or dishonour through ignorance as not his father, one who was his father. And in similar cases where the other laws both of the Romans and Greeks forbid such things to be done. To what end then do Epicurus and the Stoics teach that incest with sisters and sodomy may be committed, by which doctrines they have made libraries full, so that one may learn unlawful intercourse even from childhood? And what boots it further to dwell on such subjects, seeing that they have taught such things even about those that are called gods among them?

7. For when they have allowed that there are gods, they have again brought them to nothing. Some have said that they consist of atoms, but some say that the gods go to atoms, and have no more power than men. But Plato, whilst he admits that there are gods, tries to make them out to be material. But Pythagoras, who toiled so much about the gods, and made his way up and down, at last defines that there is a nature and spontaneousness in all things, and that the gods have no care for men. Whatever also Clitomachus the academic introduced about atheism. But what did not Critias also teach, and Protagoras of Abdera, saying, For whether there are gods or not, I cannot speak about them, nor show of what nature they are. For there are many things which prevent me. For about Euhemerus the most atheistic of all it is superfluous for us even to speak. For when he has dared to say many things about the gods, at last in general terms, he means that there are no gods, but that all things are regulated spontaneously. Plato, who has said so much about the government of God, and the soul of man, asserting that the soul is immortal, is he not found afterwards saying things in opposition to himself, that souls migrate into other men, and of some men, go into the bodies of brutes? How will his doctrine appear to sensible men otherwise than dreadful

and lawless, that what was once a man, shall again be a wolf, or dog, or ass, or any other unreasoning beast? Pythagoras also is found to talk similar nonsense to this, in addition also to denying Providence. To which of them then should we give credit? To Philemon the comic poet who says,

For those who worship God fallacious hopes
Have for their safety?

or to those we have named above, Euhemerus, and Epicurus, and Pythagoras, and to the others who deny that God is to be worshiped, and do away with a providence? Now concerning God and providence Ariston has said,

Courage ! for aid to all those who deserve it
God ever grants, to such men most of all.
Were there not laid down some pre-eminence
To those who live aright, why need be holy?
For be it so ; though often I behold
Those who have chosen goodness, pass their lives
Faring but awkwardly, whilst those who sought
Naught but their profit, and self-interest only,
Holding a far more honoured place than we,
So far as goes the present—But look further,
And wait until you see the end of all ;
For 'tis not, as the notion is with some—
An evil notion, bringing to life no profit—
'Tis not an impulse blind which regulates
All things at random. This the wicked hold
Provision for their own wayward career.
But holy living hath pre-eminence,
And wicked men, as fitting, have their punishment.
For without providence nothing is done.

What others also and almost the greater number have said concerning God, and providence, you may see how they have given opinions inconsistent with one another. For some of them have denied there being a God and providence at all. But some again have maintained a God, and confessed that all things are regulated by providence. It therefore behoves the intelligent hearer and reader to attend accurately to what things are said. As also Simulus hath remarked,

'Tis usual commonly to call all poets
Both those of style unusual, and the good.
We ought to make distinction.

As also Philemon,

'Tis hard to have one's auditor a fool,
For in his folly he ne'er blames himself.

A man must therefore be careful to apply his mind, and to consider the things which are said, examining critically what has been stated by the philosophers and the poets.

8. For, denying that there are gods, they again acknowledge them, and have related their doing most unholy deeds. And first of Jupiter; the poets sing in loud strains his untoward actions. But Chrysippus, who is the author of much nonsense, is he not proved to have signified that Juno with her polluted mouth behaved in a most disgraceful manner towards Jupiter? Why need I reckon up the impurities of her that is called the mother of the gods? or of Jupiter Latarius thirsting for human blood? or of Attus who was castrated? or how that Jupiter which is surnamed Tragædus, having deluged, as they say, his own hand, is now honoured as a god among the Romans? I pass over the temples of Antinous and those of the other gods so-called. For the things related about them cause laughter to the intelligent. Either therefore those who have put forth such philosophy, are themselves convicted of atheism by their own doctrines, or also of miscellaneous and unlawful intercourse. Besides which, cannibalism is found among them, in the writings which they wrote, and they relate that those whom they honoured as gods, were the first who did those things.

9. But we also acknowledge a God, though only one, the founder and maker and creator of this universe, and we know that all things are administered by providence, but by him alone. And we have learnt a holy law; we have for lawgiver the true God, who teaches us to do what is just, and to worship him, and to do good. And about worshipping him, he says, Thou shalt have no other gods but me. Thou shalt not

make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing, as many as are in heaven above, or as many as are in the earth beneath, or as many as are in the waters under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor shalt thou worship them, For I am the Lord thy God. But concerning doing good, he said, Honour thy father, and thy mother, that it may be well for thee, and that thou mayest be long-lived upon the earth, which I the Lord thy God give thee. Furthermore, concerning righteousness, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, thou shalt not covet his house, nor his field, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his beast of burden, nor any of his cattle, nor whatever things belong to thy neighbour. Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the poor in his judgment. From every evil word thou shalt keep aloof. An innocent and just man thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not justify the wicked, and gifts thou shalt not receive. For gifts blind the eyes of those who see, and corrupt righteous words. The minister of this divine law was Moses, also the servant of God, to all the world indeed, but particularly to the Hebrews, who are also called Jews, whom the king of Egypt at first enslaved, who were the righteous seed of those pious and holy men, Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; but God remembering them, and having done wonderful and strange signs by Moses, saved them, and led them out of Egypt, leading them through what is called the desert, whom also he restored into the land of Canaan, afterwards called Judæa, and he gave them a law, and taught them these things. Of this law which was great and marvellous for all kinds of righteousness, such are the ten chapters as we have just spoken of.

10. Since then they were strangers in the land of Egypt, being Hebrews by birth from the land of Chaldæa (for at that time, there being a famine, they were under the necessity of removing to Egypt, as food was sold there: where also they

dwelt for a time, and these things happened to them according to God's prediction), when they had sojourned in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, when Moses was about to lead them out into the desert, God taught them by the law, saying, Ye shall not oppress a stranger : you know the feeling of the stranger ; for yourselves were strangers in the land of Egypt.

11. Therefore in that people transgressing the law given them by God, God, being good and merciful, not wishing to destroy them, afterwards also, in addition to having given the law, sent prophets among them from their brethren, to teach them and remind them of the law, and to turn them to repentance, that they should sin no more. But, if they should persist in their evil deeds he forewarned them, that they should be given up into the hands of all the kingdoms of the earth : and it is manifest that these things have already happened to them. Concerning repentance then Esaias the prophet speaks generally to all, but in particular to that people : [lv, 6, 7] " Seek the Lord, and in finding him call upon him. But when he is nigh unto you, let the wicked man leave his ways, and the lawless man his counsels, and turn to the Lord his God, and he shall have pity shown him ; for [God] will abundantly forgive your sins." And another prophet Ezekiel says, [viii, 21, &c.] " If the lawless man turn away from all the wicked deeds that he hath done, and shall keep my commandments, and do my precepts, he shall live, and shall not die : all his acts of unrighteousness which he hath done shall not be remembered, but he shall live in the righteousness which he hath done : because I do not wish the death of the wicked, saith the Lord, but that he may turn from his evil way and live." Again Esaias says, [xxxi, 6 : and xlv, 22] " Turn, ye that take deep and wicked counsel together, that ye may be saved." And another prophet Jeremiah, [vi, 9] " Turn to the Lord your God, as the vintner to his basket, and ye shall have mercy shown you." Many, or rather numberless are the things said in the holy scriptures

about repentance, seeing that God is always willing to turn away mankind from all their sins.

12. Moreover also about the righteousness, which the law hath laid down, the precepts of the prophets and of the gospels are found to be in harmony, because they all spoke as inspired by one spirit from God. Esaias says thus, [i, 6, 7], "Remove sins from your souls; learn to do good, seek judgment, defend the injured, judge for the orphan, and avenge the widow." The same prophet says further [lviii, 6], "Sever all the bond of iniquity; loose the knots of violent contracts, dismiss the oppressed in freedom, and tear every unjust writing. Break thy bread for the hungry, and bring into thy house the houseless poor. If thou seest a naked man, clothe him, and from the near ones of thy own blood do not look away. Then thy light shall break forth in the morning, and thy healing shall spring forth speedily, and thy righteousness shall go before thee." In the same way Jeremiah says [vi, 16], "Stand on the ways, and see, and ask what is the good way of the Lord our God, and walk in it, and ye shall find rest for your souls. Judge just judgment, for in these is the will of the Lord your God." Likewise also Moses says, "Keep judgment, and draw near to the Lord your God, who fixed the heaven, and founded the earth." And another prophet Joel says something of similar import [ii, 16, 17]. "Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, assemble the elders, gather the children that suck the breasts. Let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her closet, and pray ye to the Lord your God vehemently, that he may pity you, and wipe out your sins." In like manner also another prophet Zacharias says [vii, 9, 10], "These things saith the Lord Almighty: judge the judgment of truth, and do mercy and compassion every one to his neighbour, and tyrannize not over the widow and the orphan, and the stranger, let not each of you imagine evil against his brother in your hearts, saith the Lord Almighty."

13. Concerning chastity also Holy Writ teaches us not

only not to offend in deed, but even, as far as the thought, not to think about any evil, or to look with the eyes upon another's wife and lust after her. Solomon therefore, who was both king and prophet, said, [Prov. iv, 25], "Let thine eyes look right on, and thine eyelids assent to what is just; make strait the tracks for thy feet." But the evangelic voice teaches still more earnestly about chastity, saying [Mat. v, 28], "Every one that looketh at another's wife to desire her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart;" and it says, "He that marrieth her that is put away, committeth adultery;" and "Whosoever putteth away his wife except for the crime of fornication, causes her to commit adultery." Also Solomon says, [Prov. vi, 27], "Shall a man bind fire in his garment, and not burn his garments? or shall a man walk on embers of fire, and not burn his feet? So he that goeth in unto a woman that hath a husband, shall not be held innocent."

14. And, to show that we are not only benevolent to those of other blood, as some think, Esaias the prophet saith [lxvi, 5], "Say to those who hate you and abominate you, ye are our brethren, that the name of the Lord may be glorified, and may be seen in their gladness." But the Gospel says [Mat. v, 44], "Love your enemies, and pray for them who insult you. For, if ye love those who love you, what reward have you? Robbers also and publicans do this." But he teaches those who do good not to boast, that they may not try to please men; for he says [Mat. vi, 3], "Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth." Further also concerning being obedient to powers and to authorities, and praying for them, the word of God commands us to pass our life calm and quiet; and it commands us to [Rom. xiii, 7, 8], "Give all things to all men: to whomsoever honour is due, honour; to whomsoever fear, fear; to whomsoever tribute, tribute; to owe no man anything but to love all men."

15. Consider therefore, if those who are taught such things are able to live indifferently, and to mix together in lawless

unions, or, what is most impious of all things, to feed on human flesh : since indeed it has been forbidden us even to see the shows of the gladiators, that we may not become partakers or accomplices in blood. But neither are we allowed to see the other sights, that our eyes and ears may not be defiled, becoming participators of the sounds which there are sung. For if any one speak of cannibalism, among them are the children of Thyestes and Tereus that were eaten : but if of adultery, there are tragedies among them not only about men, but also about the gods, whom they proclaim aloud with honours and prizes. But far be it from entering into the minds of Christians to do any such thing, among whom there is modesty, temperance is cultivated, monogamy is observed, purity is kept, injustice is driven away, sin is rooted out, righteousness is studied, law is observed, the worship of God is practised, God is acknowledged, truth is their umpire, grace guards them, peace looks out round them, the holy word leads them, wisdom teaches them, life is their umpire, God is their king. Having then much to say about our social life and the laws of God, who is also the author of all creation, we consider that for the present we have mentioned enough, to the end that you also may know especially from what you have read thus far, that, as you were born a lover of learning, so also you may continue a lover of learning even until now.

16. But I wish also, if it please God, to show you now more accurately about the dates, that you see our story is not modern nor mythical ; but more ancient and true than all poets and writers, who have written in uncertainty. For those who said that the world was not created, have gone out into infinity ; but the others who said that it was created, have said that about an hundred and fifty-three thousand, seventy-five years have elapsed. Apollonius the Ægyptian relates these things. But Plato who seems to be the wisest of the Greeks, in what idle talk has he not indulged ? For in his books called *Politics* it is laid down and he says plainly, “ For how, if these things remained thus for all time, as they now are set out, could any

new thing ever be found out? for that they lay hid ten thousand times ten thousand years from the people of that time, but it is a thousand years since, or twice a thousand years, since some things became known to Dædalus, others to Orpheus, and others to Palamedes." And when he says that these things were made, he indicates ten thousand times ten thousand years from the deluge to Dædalus. And when he says many things concerning the cities of the world, and houses and nations, he acknowledges that he has spoken these things by conjecture. For he says, "If, my friend, any god would promise us, that if we would attempt an inquiry into legislation, after what we have now said," &c., &c., and so on: he manifestly speaks by conjecture; but if by conjecture, then the things which he says are not true.

17. It behoves one therefore rather to become a disciple of the law of God, according as he also hath confessed that otherwise he cannot learn the truth, unless God teach him through the law. But what? have not the poets also, Homer and Hesiod and Orpheus, said that they learnt from Divine providence? Moreover they say that there were soothsayers and foreknowers contemporary with the historians, and that those who learnt from them wrote accurately. How much rather then shall we know the truth, who learn from the holy prophets, who received the Holy Spirit of God? Wherefore all the prophets said things consistent and in harmony with one another, and foretold the things that were about to happen to all the world. For the very issue of the things foretold and already accomplished, may teach the lovers of learning, or rather the lovers of truth, that those things are really true which were foretold by them about the times and seasons that were before the flood, from the time the world was created until now, according to the series of the years, so as to show the idleness of the false tales of writers, that the things spoken by them are not true.

18. For Plato, as we said before, having shown that there was a deluge, said that it was not one of all the world, but

only of the plains, and that those who fled saved themselves on the highest mountains. But others say that it was Deucalion and Pyrrha, and that these were saved in the ark, and that Deucalion, after he came out of the ark, cast stones behind him, and men sprang out of the stones : from which word [*laas*, a stone], they say the name *laos* [*people* in Greek] is given to the mass of mankind. But others say that Clymenus was at the time of the second deluge. It is manifest therefore, from what has been said before, that those who have written such accounts are impious and senseless wretches, and have philosophised in vain. But our Moses, the prophet and the minister of God, in writing his history about the creation of the world, has related in what manner the deluge took place upon the earth, and not only that, but in what manner the circumstances of the deluge happened, not telling tales about Pyrrha, or Deucalion or Clymenus, nor that the plains only were deluged, and that those who fled were saved only on the mountains.

19. Neither does he indicate that there was a second deluge : but he says that there never again would be a flood of water upon the earth ; such as never has been and never will be. He says that all the souls of men that were saved in the ark were eight, that ark, which was prepared by the command of God, not by Deucalion, but by Noe, in Hebrew, which is interpreted *Rest* in the Greek language : as we have also shown in another work, that Noe preaching to the men of that time, that a flood was about to take place, prophesied to them, saying, Come hither [*Deute* in Greek] ; the Lord God *calls* you to repentance. Wherefore he was properly named *Deu-calion*. To this Noe were born three sons, as also we have shown in our second section, whose names are Shem, Ham, and Japheth, who also had three wives, one to each of them ; both himself and his wife. Some have named this man an eunuch. There were then eight souls of men saved, who were found in the ark. Moses signified that the flood had lasted forty days and forty nights, whilst streams rushed

down from heaven, and from the fountains of the deep gushing forth, so that the water was raised above every high mountain, fifteen cubits. And thus the whole race of men of that time was destroyed, and only those eight, whom we have named before, were saved in the ark. The remains of this ark are shown to remain up to this day in the Arabian mountains. Such then summarily is the history of the flood.

20. But Moses, having led the Jews, as we said before, when cast out of the land of Ægypt by king Pharaoh, whose name was Amasis, and who, they say, reigned after the expulsion of the people twenty-five years and four months, as Manæthos has calculated; then after him was Chebron, who reigned thirteen years: after him Amenophis, twenty years and seven months: then his sister Amassa, twenty-one years and one month: then Mephres, twelve years and nine months: then Methrammuthosis, twenty years and ten months: then Tuthmosis, nine years and eight months: then Damphenophis, thirty years and ten months: then Orus, thirty-five years and five months. His daughter reigned ten years and three months: after her Mercheres, twelve years and three months: his son Armais, thirty years and one month: then Messes, son of Miammos, six years and two months: after him Ramenses, a year and four months: after him Amenophis, nineteen years and six months: his sons Thoissus and Ramesses, ten years; who, they say, had a great force of cavalry, and large fleet of ships. The Hebrews, after their own separate times, sojourning at this time in Ægypt, and having been enslaved by king Tethmosis, as has been said before, built for him strong cities, Peitho and Rameses and On, which is Heliopolis: so that the Hebrews, who also are our forefathers, are shown to be earlier than the cities that were then famous among the Ægyptians: from whom also we have the sacred books which are more ancient than all the historians, as we have said before. That land was called Ægypt from king Setho: for Setho, they say, is called Ægypt: but Setho had a brother whose name was Armais: he was the man called

Danaus, who went from Ægypt to Argos, whom the other historians have mentioned as being very ancient.

21. But Manæthos, who has written much nonsense about the Ægyptians, has uttered many blasphemies against Moses and the Hebrews who were with him, as having been expelled out of Ægypt because they had the leprosy. For, calling them shepherds and enemies of the Ægyptians, he has not succeeded in giving the true account of their times. For he called them shepherds with much reluctance, being compelled by the truth: for our forefathers who sojourned in Egypt, were really shepherds, but not leprous. For when they were come into the land called Jerusalem, where in the interval also they had dwelt, it is shown how their priests, by God's command, continuing in the temple, then healed every disease, so that they healed also the leprous and every defect. Solomon king of Judæa built the temple. But as to Manætho's being in error about the dates, it is manifest from what is said by him: but also about the king who drove them out, whose name was Pharaoh: for he was no longer their king. For when he pursued the Hebrews with his army, he was drowned in the Red Sea. Moreover also about those who, he says, were shepherds and enemies of the Ægyptians, he writes falsely. For they went out three hundred and thirteen years before, and from that time dwelt in the country, which still now also is called Judea, before Danaus also came to Argos. But that most among the Greeks consider this Danaus to be more ancient than the others, is manifest. So that Manæthos has against his will pointed out to us two sections of the truth, by his writings. First, allowing them to be shepherds, and secondly by saying that they came out of the land of Egypt; so that it is shown out of these accounts that Moses and his people were more ancient than the Trojan war by nine hundred or a thousand years.

22. But also about the building of the temple, in Judea, which king Solomon built, five hundred and sixty-six years after the Jews went out of Egypt, there is an account among

the Tyrians also, how the temple was built, and the writings are kept among their archives, in which writings, the temple is found to have been made an hundred and forty-three years and eight months before the Tyrians founded Carthage. The record was made by Hierom, the name of the king of the Tyrians, son of Abeimal; because Hierom was a friend of Solomon in consequence of his father's intimacy, and also in consequence of the great wisdom which Solomon possessed. For they practised one another continually by difficult questions. And as a proof of this he says that there are preserved among the Assyrians up to this day copies of their letters, and they sent letters to one another: as Menander the Ephesian has mentioned, in his history about the kingdom of the Tyrians: his words are these: "When Abeimal, king of the Tyrians was dead, his son Hierom received the kingdom, having lived fifty-three years. Him followed Bazor, who lived forty-three years, and reigned seventeen. After him Methuastart, who lived fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. After him his brother Atharym, who lived fifty-eight years, and reigned nine. Him slew his brother named Helles, who lived fifty years, and reigned eight months. Him slew Juthobal, priest of Astarte, who lived forty years, and reigned twelve. Him followed his son Bazor, who lived forty-five years, and reigned seven. His son was Metten, who lived thirty-two years, and reigned twenty-nine years. Him followed Pygmalion son of Pygmalus, who lived fifty-six years, and reigned seven years. But in the seventh year of his reign, his sister fleeing to Libya, built the city which is called Carthage down to the present day." All the time therefore from the reign of Hierom to the building of Carthage is computed at an hundred and fifty-five years, and eight months. In the twelfth year of Hierom's reign the temple was built in Jerusalem, so that all the time from the building of the temple, until the founding of Carthage, was an hundred and forty-three years and eight months.

23. Let what we have said then suffice about the testimony

of the Phœnicians and the Ægyptians, as related by those who have written about our chronology, Manæthos the Ægyptian, and Menander of Ephesus, and moreover Josephus also, who wrote of the war of the Jews carried on against them by the Romans. For from those ancient ones it is shown that the writings of the others also are later than the writings given us by Moses, and even than the intermediate prophets. For the last of the prophets, Zachariah by name, flourished about the reign of Darius. But all the lawgivers also are found to have given their laws in the interval. For if any one were to name Solon the Athenian, he lived about the times of kings Cyrus and Darius, about the time of the aforesaid prophet Zachariah, who was very many years later. Or also with respect to the lawgivers Lycurgus, or Draco, or Minos, Josephus writes and says that the sacred books surpass these in antiquity, since it is shown that the writings of God's law, given to us by Moses, are earlier than Jupiter the king of the Cretans, and also than the Trojan war. But that we may make a more accurate display of the times and the chronology, with God's help, we will now do so, relating not only the events after the deluge, but those also before the deluge, so as to state the number of all the years, according to our ability, ascending back to the beginning of the foundation of the world, which Moses the servant of God wrote, by the Holy Spirit. For whilst speaking of the creation and origin of the world, the first man, and the events which afterwards took place, he indicates also the years that had elapsed before the deluge. But I ask grace from the only God, to relate all the truth according to his will, that you and every one who lights upon these books, may be guided by his truth and his grace. I will begin then first from the genealogies that have been related, making my beginning, I mean, from the first created man.

24. Adam until he begat a child, 230 years: his son Seth 205. His son Enos 190. His son Cainan 170. His son Malaleel 165. His son Jareth 162. His son Enoch 165.

His son Mathusala 167. His son Lamech 188. To him was born a son Noe aforesaid, who, when he was 500 years old, begat Shem. In his time was the flood, when he was 600 years old. All the number of years therefore to the flood was 2242. But after the flood, Shem, being 100 years old, begat Arphaxath. Arphaxath, when 135 years old, begat Sala. Sala begat a son when he was 130 years old. His son Heber, from whom also their race were called Hebrews, was 134 years old. His son Phaleg was 130 years old. His son Rhageu was 132 years old. His son Seruch was 130 years old. His son Nahor was 75 years old. His son Tharra was 70 years old. His son Abraham our patriarch, being 100 years old begat Isaac. We have then down to Abraham 3278 years. Isaac aforesaid, before he begat children, lived 60 years ; he then begat Jacob. Jacob lived until the sojourning in Egypt, of which we have spoken above, 130 years. But the sojourning of the Hebrews in Egypt was 430 years. And after they went out from the land of Egypt, they dwelt in what was called the desert 40 years. The whole number of years therefore is 3938. At which time, Moses having died, Joshua the son of Naue succeeded to the government. He ruled them 27 years. But after Joshua, the people having turned away from the commands of God, they were slaves to the king of Mesopotamia named Chusarathon 8 years : then the people having repented, judges were appointed over them ; Gothoniel 40 years ; Eglon 18 years ; Aoth 8 years ; then because they had offended, strangers ruled over them 20 years. Then Debbora judged them 40 years. Then the Madianites ruled over them 7 years. Then Gedeon judged them 40 years : Abimelech 3 years : Thola 22 years : Jaeir 22 years. Then the Philistines and Ammanites ruled over them 18 years. Then Jephthae judged them 6 years. Esbon 7 years. Ælon 10 years. Abdon 8 years. Then strangers ruled over them 40 years. Then Sampson judged them 20 years. Then there was peace among them 40 years. Then Samcra judged them 1 year. Elis 20 years ; Samuel 12 years.

25. But after the Judges they had kings among them : the first was named Saul, who reigned 20 years : then David, our father, 40 years. All the years therefore down to the reign of David are 495. After them reigned Solomon, who also first built the temple in Jerusalem by command of God, 40 years. After him Roboam 17 years, and after him Elias 7 years. After him Esa 41 years. After him Josophat 25 years. After him Joram 8 years. After him Ochozias 1 year. After him Gotholia 6 years. After her Josias 40 years. After him Amesias 39 years, and after him Ozias 52 years. After him Joatham 16 years. After him Achaz 17 years. After him Ezekias 29 years. After him Manasses 55 years. After him Amos 2 years. After him Josias 31 years. After him Ochas 3 months. After him Joakeim 11 years. Then another Joakeim three months, and ten days. After him Sedekias 11 years. After these kings, because the people continued in sin and did not repent, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, the king of Babylon, named Nabuchodonosor, went up into Judæa. It was he who transferred the people of the Jews to Babylon : and he destroyed the temple, which Solomon built. The people passed 70 years in the captivity of Babylon. All the years therefore, until the captivity in the land of Babylon, is 4954, 6 months and 10 days. But in the same manner as God foretold by Jeremiah the prophet, that the people should be led captive to Babylon, so he presignified also that they should come again into their own land after 70. When 70 years therefore were completed, Cyrus became king of the Persians, who, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, in the second year of his reign, made a proclamation, commanding by writing that all the Jews who were in his kingdom, should return to their own country, and rebuild their temple to God, which the king of Babylon aforesaid had destroyed. In addition to this also Cyrus, by command of God, ordered Sabessar and Mithridates his bodyguards, that the vessels which had been taken out of the temple of Judæa by Nabuchodonosor, should be carried back and

placed in the temple. In the second year of Cyrus then the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah, were completed.

26. From this we may see how our sacred writings are proved to be more ancient and more true than those among the Greeks and the Ægyptians, or also some other historians. For Herodotus and Thucydides, and also Xenophon, and perhaps the other historians, have for the most part almost begun to write from the reign of Cyrus and Darius, having been unable to tell the truth about the early preceding times. For what great deed was it for them, if they spoke about Darius and Cyrus, kings among the barbarians, or among the Greeks of Zopyrus and Hippias, or the wars of the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, or the deeds of Xerxes, or of Pausanias, who ran the risk of dying by hunger in the temple of Minerva, or about Themistocles, or the war of the Peloponnesians, or about Alcibiades and Thrasybulus? For it is not a subject of much talking that lies before us, but to set forth the number of years from the foundation of the world, and to refute the vain labours and idle talk of the writers, that it is neither two thousand times ten thousand years, as Plato says, who lays down that there were so many from the deluge to his own times, nor yet an hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and seventy-five years, as we have before said is stated by Apollonius the Ægyptian: and that the world is not uncreated, nor is there a spontaneousness in all things, as 'Pythagoras and the others have boasted; but created, and arranged providentially by the God who made all things: and that all chronology and the number of the years is plain to those who will listen to the truth. Lest then I should be thought to have shown the chronology as far as Cyrus, but to neglect it for the intermediate times, as being unable to prove them, I will endeavour, God willing, to set forth the order of times after that point, according to my ability.

27. When Cyrus had reigned 29 years, and been slain by Toumyris in Massagetia, in the 62nd Olympiad; from that time already the Romans began to increase, because God

strengthened them, Rome having been built by Romulus, the son, as was said, of Mars and Ilia, in the 7th Olympiad, on the 11th day before the calends of May [*Ap.* 21], ten months being at that time reckoned to the year. When Cyrus then was dead, as we have said before, in the 62nd Olympiad, it was the 220th year after the building of Rome: when also Tarquinius surnamed Superbus was king of Rome, who first banished some of the Romans, corrupted their children, and made the citizens eunuchs. Moreover also he debauched their virgins, and then gave them in marriage. Wherefore he was properly called Superbus in the language of the Romans, which is interpreted Proud. For he first appointed that those who saluted him, should be saluted by another. He reigned 25 years. After him ruled yearly Consuls, Tribunes, or *Ædiles*, 453 years: whose names we have thought it also superfluous to enumerate. For, if any one wishes to learn them, he will find them from the records which Chryserus the Nomenclator, and freedman of Aurelius Verus, wrote. He has clearly related all things, both the names and the times, from the foundation of Rome to the death of his patron the emperor Verus. The yearly officers of the Romans ruled, as we have said, 453 years. Afterwards the emperors, as they are called, ruled as at present: first Caius Julius, who reigned 3 years 4 months and 6 days. Then Augustus 56 years, 4 months and 1 day. Tiberius 22 years: then another Caius 3 years, 8 months and 7 days. Claudius 23 years, 8 months, and 24 days. Nero 13 years, 6 months and 28 days. Galba 2 years, 7 months, and 6 days. Otho 3 months and 5 days. Vitellius 6 months and 22 days. Vespasian 9 years, 11 months, and 22 days. Titus 2 years, and 22 days. Domitian 15 years, 5 months, and 6 days. Nerva 1 year, 4 months, and 10 days. Trajan 19 years, 6 months, and 16 days. Adrian 20 years, 10 months, and 28 days. Antoninus 22 years, 7 months, and 6 days. Verus 19 years and 10 days. The period of the Cæsars therefore down to the death of the emperor Verus is 237 years and 5 days.

From the death of Cyrus therefore and the reign of Tarquinius Superbus over the Romans, to the death of the emperor Verus aforesaid, the period is computed at 744 years.

28. From the foundation of the world, the whole period is thus summarily deduced. From the creation of the world to the deluge were 2242 years. From the deluge to our forefather Abraham's begetting a son, 1036 years. From Isaac the son of Abraham, until the people dwelt with Moses in the desert, 660 years. From the death of Moses, and the rule of Joshua son of Naue, to the death of the patriarch David, 498 years. From the death of David, and the reign of Solomon, until the sojourning of the people in Babylon, 518 years, 6 months, and 10 days. From the reign of Cyrus to the death of the emperor Aurelius Verus, 744 years. Together, from the creation of the world all the years and the odd months and days are reckoned at 5698.

29. From the periods of time then and all the events which we have named brought together, it is easy to see the antiquity of the prophetical writings and the divine character of our story, that the story is not modern, nor the events that have happened among us, as some think, mythological and false, but ancient and true. For Thallus makes mention of Belus the king of Assyria, and of Cronus the Titan, saying that Belus made war with the Titans against Jupiter, and the so-called gods who were with him, where also (he says) Gygyus being vanquished fled to Tartessus, that country being then called Acte, but now named Attica, over which Gygyus then reigned. The other countries and cities, from which they had their surnames, we do not deem it necessary to enumerate, especially to you who know history. That Moses therefore is shown to be more ancient than all the writers—not he alone, but also the greater number of the prophets who came after him,—both Cronus and Belus and the Trojan war, is evident. For, according to the history of Thallus, Belus is found to have been earlier than the Trojan war, by 322 years: but we have shown above that Moses precedes the Trojan war by 900

or even 1000 years. But although Cronus and Belus flourished at the same time, most men are ignorant who Cronus was, or who Belus was. Some worship Cronus, and name him also Bel or Bal, especially those who dwell in eastern countries, not knowing who Cronus is, or who Belus is. Among the Romans he is named Saturn: but neither do they know which of them is first, Cronus or Bel. Whatever may be the beginning of the Olympiads, they say their religious observance is derived from Iphitus, but according to some from Linus, who was also surnamed Ilius. The number of the years then, and of the Olympiads, we have shown in the preceding part of these books, in their proper order. I think that I have now accurately shown the impiety of the history and times among you. For even if our chronology has escaped us, so to speak, 50 years, or an hundred, or even 200, yet surely not tens of thousands, or even thousands of years, as Plato and Apollonius and the others have declared, writing what is false. As to which we perhaps do not know accurately the number of all the years, because the odd months and days have not been recorded in the sacred books. But further, concerning the times we are speaking of, we have the agreement of Berosus, who studied philosophy among the Chaldeans, and taught the Greeks the Chaldee letters. He has related some things in harmony with Moses, in his history, concerning the deluge, and many other things. He has moreover said some things in part agreeing with the prophets Jeremiah and Daniel. For he makes mention of the things which happened to the Jews under the king of Babylon, whom he calls Abobassar, but he is called by the Hebrews Nabuchodonosor; and further concerning the temple in Jerusalem, that it was destroyed by the king of the Chaldeans: and that the foundations of the temple having been laid in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, the temple was finished again in the second year of king Darius.

30. The Greeks have not mentioned the true history: first, because they have only of late gained the knowledge of letters;

and themselves confess it, saying that letters were got, some from the Chaldæans, some from the Ægyptians, and others again from the Phœnicians : secondly, because they erred and still err, not making mention of God, but of vain and useless matters. For they make mention so eagerly of Homer, and of Hesiod, and the other poets, but the glory of the incorruptible and only God, they not only have forgotten, but have even spoken against it, and moreover have persecuted those who worshiped him, and still persecute them every day. But yet they set forth prizes and honours for those who loudly insult God : but those who are eager after virtue, and lead an holy life, some they have stoned, others they have slain, and up to this time treat them with savage tortures. Wherefore such men have necessarily lost the wisdom of God, and have not found the truth. If you please then, look carefully at these things, that you may have a pledge and earnest of the truth.

IV.

HERMIAS THE PHILOSOPHER:

HIS

DERISION OF GENTILE PHILOSOPHERS.

PAUL the blessed apostle, my beloved brethren, writing to the Corinthians who inhabit Laconian Greece, spake saying, "The wisdom of this world is folly in the sight of God" [1 Cor. i. 19], and he said not amiss. For it seems to me to have taken its beginning from the rebellion of the angels; for which cause the philosophers put forth their doctrines, saying things that neither sound the same, nor mean the same as one another. For some of them say that the soul is fire, like Democritus; air, like the Stoics; some say it is the mind; and some say it is motion, as Heraclitus; some say it is exhalation; some an influence flowing from the stars; some say it is number in motion, as Pythagoras; some say it is generative water, as Hippo; some say an element from elements; some say it is harmony, as Dinarchus; some say the blood, as Critias; some the breath; some say unity, as Pythagoras; and so the ancients say contrary things. How many statements are there about these things! how many attempts! how many also of sophists who carry on a strife rather than seek the truth!

2. Be it so then: they differ about the soul, but have pro-

nounced other things about it in unison : and of others, one man calls pleasure its good, another its evil, and again a third man, its middle state between good and evil. But its nature some call immortal, some mortal, and others say that it remains for a time, but others that it becomes brutalised, others divide it into atoms, others embody it three times, others assign to it periods of three thousand years. For though they do not live even an hundred years, they talk of three thousand years about to come. What then must we term these things? They seem to me, to be a prodigy, or folly, or madness, or rebellion, or all these together. If they have found out anything true, let them agree together about it, or let them join together, and I then will gladly listen to them. But, if they distract the soul, and draw it, one into a different nature, another into a different being, changing one kind of matter for another ; I confess I am harassed by the ebbing and flowing of the subject. At one time I am immortal and rejoice ; at another time again I become mortal and weep. Anew I am dissolved into atoms : I become water, and I become air : I become fire, and then after a little, neither air, nor fire : he makes me a beast, he makes me a fish. Again then I have dolphins for my brothers ; but when I look on myself, I am frightened at my body, and I know not how I shall call it, man, or dog, or wolf, or bull, or bird, or snake, or serpent, or chimæra ; for I am changed by the philosophers into all the beasts, of the land, of the sea, having wings, of many forms, wild or tame, dumb or vocal, brute or reasoning : I swim, I fly, I rise aloft, I crawl, I run, I sit. But here is Empedocles, and he makes me a stump of a tree.

3. Since then it is not possible for the philosophers by agreeing together to find out the soul of man, they can scarcely be able to declare the truth about the gods or the universe. For they have this audacity, that I may not call it infatuation. For those who are not able to discover their own soul, seek into the nature of the gods themselves ; and those who do not know their own body, busy themselves

about the nature of the world. In truth they wholly oppose one another about the principles of nature. When Anaxagoras catches me, he teaches me thus : The beginning of all things is mind, and this is the cause and regulator of all things, and gives arrangement to things unarranged, and motion to things unmoved, and distinction to things mixed, and order to things disordered. Anaxagoras, who says these words, is my friend, and I bow to his doctrine. But against him rise up Melissus and Parmenides. Parmenides indeed, in his poetical works, proclaims that being is one, and everlasting, and endless, and immoveable, and in every way alike. Again then, I know not why I change to this doctrine : Parmenides has driven Anaxagoras out of my mind. But when I am on the point of thinking that I have now a firm doctrine, Anaximenes, catching hold of me, cries out, "But I tell you, everything is air, and this air, thickening and settling, becomes water and air ; rarefying and spreading, it becomes æther and fire : but returning into its own nature, it becomes thin air : but if also it becomes condensed, (says he) it is changed." And thus again I pass over to this opinion of his, and cherish Anaximenes.

4. But Empedocles stands opposite chafing, and crying aloud from *Ætna*. The principles of all things are enmity and friendship, the one drawing together, the other separating ; and their strife makes all things. But I define these to be ; like and unlike, boundless and having bounds, things eternal, and things made. Well done, Empedocles ; I follow you now even up to the craters of fire. But on the other hand stands Protagoras, and draws me aside, saying, Man is the term and arbitrement of things, and those are things that fall under sensation : but those which do not so fall are not in the forms of being. Enticed by Protagoras with this description, I am pleased, because every thing or at least the greatest part is left to man. But on the other hand Thales nods the truth to me, defining water to be the principle of all, and that all things are formed out of the moist, and are re-

solved into the moist, and the earth rides over the water. Why then should I not listen to Thales the elder of the Ionians? But his countryman Anaximander himself says that eternal motion is an older principle than moisture, and that by it some things are generated, and some things perish. And so let Anaximander be our guide.

5. And is not Archelaus of good repute, who declares that the principles of the whole are heat and cold? But again in this also the grandiloquous Plato does not agree; saying that the principles are God, and matter, and example. Now then I am persuaded. For how shall I not trust a philosopher who made the chariot of Jupiter? But behind stands his disciple Aristotle, envying his master for his coach-making. He lays down other principles, to do, and to suffer; and that the active principle is the æther, which is acted on by nothing, but the passive has four qualities, drought, moisture, heat, and cold: for by the change of these into one another all things are produced and perish. We were now tired, changing up and down with the doctrines, but I will rest on the opinion of Aristotle, and let no doctrine henceforth trouble me.

6. But what can I do? For old men more ancient than these hamstring my soul: Pherecydes saying that the principles are Jupiter, and Tellus, and Saturn—Jupiter the æther, Tellus the Earth, and Saturn Time. The æther is the agent, but the earth is passive, and Time in which all created things are comprised. These old men have contentions with one another. For Leucippus, deeming all these things madness, says that the principles are boundless, motionless, and infinitesimal; and that the lighter parts going up, become fire and air, whilst the heavier parts, subsiding, become water and earth. How long am I taught such things, learning nothing true? Unless else Democritus will set me free from error, declaring that the principles are Existence and Non-existence, and that Existence is full, but Non-existence is empty; but the full affects all things by change or by order in the empty. Perhaps I might listen to good Democritus, and should like

to laugh with him, did not Heraclitus persuade me otherwise, at the same time weeping and saying, Fire is the principle of all things : it has two states of being, thinness and thickness : the one active, the other passive, the one blending, the other separating. This is enough for me, and I should already be drunk with so many principles : but Epicurus calls me away from thence also, by no means to revile his good doctrine, of atoms and of emptiness. For by the varied and manifold interweaving of these, all things are born and perish.

7. I do not contradict you, my best of men, Epicurus. But Cleanthes, raising his head from the well, laughs at your doctrine. And myself also derive from him the true principles, God and matter ; and that earth changes into water, and water into air ; that the air floats, and that the fire comes to the parts near the earth, that the soul extends through all the world, of which we also, sharing a portion, have the breath of life. Which things then being thus many, another multitude throngs me out of Libya, Carneades, and Clitomachus, and all their followers, treading down all the doctrines of the others, and themselves declaring plainly, that all things are incomprehensible, and that a false imagination always hangs about the truth. What then will become of me, after having toiled so long a time ? How can I deliver forth so many doctrines from my mind ? For if nothing be comprehensible, truth is gone from men, and vaunted philosophy throws a shade rather than conveys a knowledge of the things that be.

8. But lo, from the old school, Pythagoras and his fellows, grave and silent men, deliver to me other doctrines, as mysteries, and among them this great and ineffable one, HE HATH SAID. The principle of all things is unity, but from its forms and numbers are produced the elements, and the number and form and measure of each of these is thus somehow declared. Fire is completed out of four-and-twenty right-angled triangles, being contained by four equilateral ones. Each equilateral one is composed of six triangles, whence also they liken it to a pyramid. But air is completed by forty-eight triangles,

being contained by eight equilateral ones. But it is likened to an octahedron, which is contained by eight equilateral triangles, each of which is divided into six right-angled ones, so that they are forty-eight in all. But water being contained by an hundred and twenty, is likened also to a figure having twenty sides, which indeed consists of twenty-six equal and equilateral triangles and But the æther is completed of twelve equilateral pentagons, and is similar to a figure having twelve sides. Earth is completed of forty-eight triangles, and is also contained by six equilateral triangles, and is like a cube. For the cube is contained by six squares, each of which extends to four triangles; so that all together are twenty-four.

9. Thus Pythagoras measures the world. But I again, becoming inspired, despise my home, and my country, and my wife, and my children, and I no longer care for them, but mount up into the æther itself, and taking the cubit from Pythagoras, begin to measure the fire. For Jupiter's measuring it is not enough for me. Unless also the great animal, the great body, the great soul, MYSELF, mount into heaven, and measure the æther, the rule of Jupiter is gone. But when I have measured it, and Jupiter has learnt from me, how many angles fire has, I again go down from heaven, and eating olives, and figs and cabbage, I make the best of my way to the water, and with cubit, and digit and half-digit, measure the watery being, and calculate its depth, that I may also teach Neptune, how much sea he rules over. I pass over all the earth in one day, collecting its number and its measure and its forms. For I am persuaded that, such and so great a person as I am, of all things in the world, I shall not make a mistake of a single span. But I know both the number of the stars, and of the fishes, and of the wild beasts, and placing the world in a balance, I can easily learn its weight. About these things then my soul has been earnest until now, to have rule over all things.

10. But Epicurus, stooping towards me, says, "You have

measured one world, my friend; there are many and endless worlds." I am compelled then again to speak of many heavens, other æthers, and many of them. Come then, without more delay, having victualled yourself for a few days' travel into the worlds of Epicurus. I easily pass its bounds, Tethys and Oceanus. But when I have entered into a new world, and as it were into a new city, I measure the whole in a few days. And from thence I cross back into the world again, then into a fourth, and a fifth, and a tenth, and an hundredth, and a thousandth, and where will it end? For all things already are the darkness of ignorance to me, and black error, and endless wandering, and unprofitable fancy, and ignorance not to be comprehended: unless else I intend to number the very atoms also, out of which such great worlds have arisen, that I may leave nothing unexamined, especially of things so necessary and useful, from which both houses and cities prosper. These things have I gone through, wishing to point out the opposition which is in their doctrines, and how their examination of things will go on to infinity and no limit, for their end is inexplicable and useless, being confirmed neither by one manifest fact, nor by one sound argument.

V.

PAPIAS, BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS:

HIS

EXPOSITION OF THE LORD'S ORACLES.

IN FIVE BOOKS.

PREFACE.

Fragment 1. Papias himself, in the preface to his works, shows that he was by no means a hearer and witness of the holy apostles, but teaches us that he received the things of the faith from those who were known to them [the apostles]. He says :

“But I will not hesitate to set down in writing to you whatever things I formerly well learnt from the elders and well remembered, maintaining the truth about them. For I did not take pleasure like most men in those who spoke the most, but in those who taught the truth, not in those who quoted the commands of others, but those who delivered the commands given by our Lord in the faith, and springing out of the truth. But if by chance any one came who had followed the elders, I examined the words of the elders; what said Andrew, or Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or what John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples? as for instance what Aristion and the elder John, our Lord's disciples, say. For I did not consider that what came out of books would benefit me so much as what came from the living and abiding voice.”

In this passage we may dwell one moment on the fact that the name of John is there twice mentioned. The former of them he classes with Peter and James, and Matthew and the other apostles, plainly indicating the evangelist. But the other John, after an interval of some words, he includes among those others who were over and above the number of the apostles, placing him after Aristion. He also plainly names him an elder. So that by these words is shown to be true the statement of those who have said that there were two who bore the same name in Asia, and that there were two monuments in Ephesus, each of which is said to be that of John. These things are worthy of consideration. For it is probable that the second, if one is not disposed to allow that it was the first, saw the revelation which passes under the name of John. [EUSEB. *Ecl. Hist.* iii, 39.]

BOOK I.

Frag. 2. The first Christians called those who studied purity before God by the name of children [MAXIMI *Scholia in Dionys. de Cœlesti Hierarchia*, ed. Corderii, cap. ii, p. 32.]

BOOK IV.

Frag. 3. Judas walked in this world a great example of impiety. For being swelled so much in flesh, that he could not pass through, when a cart passed through easily, he was crushed by the cart, so that his entrails were evacuated [ECUMENII *Comment. in Acta Apostol.* cap. ii.]

Frag. 4. As the elders, who saw John the disciple of our Lord, have recorded, that they heard from him, according as the Lord taught about those times, saying, "The days shall come, in which vineyards shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and on one branch ten thousand arms, and on one arm ten thousand twigs, and on each twig ten thousand clusters, and in each cluster ten thousand grapes, and each grape when squeezed will give twenty-five measures of wine. And

when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster; take me; through me bless the Lord.' In the same way also that a grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and each ear shall have ten thousand grains, and each grain five two-pound measures of fine clean flour; and other fruits and seeds, and herbs according to the fittingness which belongs to them, and that all the animals which use those kinds of food, which are received from the earth, should become peaceful and docile, being subject to men in all subjection."

[All this is told in writing by Papias a hearer of John, an ancient man and companion of Polycarp, in the fourth book of his writings: for he wrote five books, and he added]—

"But these things are credible to believers. And when Judas the traitor (*he says*) did not believe and asked 'How then shall such productions be brought to pass by the Lord?' the Lord said, 'They shall see who shall come among them.' Now Isaias prophesying speaks of those times, 'And the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, &c.'" [IRENÆI *adv. Hæres.* v, 33.]

Frag. 5. And, as the elders say, those who shall then be thought worthy of the society of heaven, shall pass thither, that is into heaven: some shall enjoy the delights of paradise; but others shall possess the beauty of the city: for the Saviour shall everywhere be seen, as those shall be worthy who see him. But that there shall be this difference in the dwelling of those who bear fruit an hundred-fold, and those who sixty-fold, and those who thirty-fold: of whom some shall be taken up into heaven, and some shall dwell in paradise, and some shall inhabit the city: and that on this account the Lord has said, In my father's house there are many mansions: for all things are God's, who gives to all a suitable habitation; according as his Word says that to all is distributed by the Father, according as each is worthy or shall be. And this is the couch, on which those shall sit, who feast as invited guests

at the nuptials. That this is the arrangement and disposition of those who are saved, we are told by the elders who were disciples of the apostles, and that they advance by steps of this kind, and ascend by the Spirit to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, the Son thenceforth ceding his work to the Father, according as it was said by the apostle, that he must reign, until he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. For in the times of his kingdom the just man, living upon the earth, shall now forget to die. But when (*says he*) he saith all things are put under him, it is manifest that he is excepted, which did put all things under him. But when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son of Man also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all. [IREN. *adv. Hæres.* lib. v, cap. ult.]

Frag. 6. But Papias, of whom we are now speaking, acknowledges that he received the words of the apostles from those who were their followers: and he says that he was an actual hearer of Aristion and of John the elder. He at least mentions them often by name, and in his writings gives their traditions. So far then may what I have said be not said fruitlessly. But it is worth while to add to the sayings of Papias which have been related, other sentences of his, in which he records some other marvellous things, as having come to him by tradition. The story of Philip the apostle having stopped with his daughters at Hierapolis, has already been related. But how Papias tells us that he was in their company, and heard a recital of marvellous events from Philip's daughters, I will now particularize. He relates the resurrection of a dead man that took place where he was; and again another miracle that happened to Justus surnamed Barsabas, how he drank a rank poison and by the grace of God suffered no harm. This was the Justus, whom, after the resurrection of our Lord, the holy apostles set up with Matthias and prayed over them, for the drawing of lots to fill up their number in the stead of the traitor Judas; as the book of the Acts thus describes it: And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said.

Other things also hath the same [Papias] set forth as having come to him by unwritten tradition, both some strange parables of our Saviour, and teachings of his, and some other mythical things. Among which also he says that there will be a thousand years [*millennium*] after the

resurrection from the dead, when Christ will reign bodily upon this earth. This idea I suppose he formed, from having received the apostolical descriptions, not understanding the things which were said by them mystically by way of examples. For he appears to have been a very little-minded man, if we may conjecture from his works ; except in the judgment of the greatest part of ecclesiastical writers who came after him, to whom he was in part the cause of their having the same opinion as himself, and who sheltered themselves under the man, such as Irenæus, and others if there be any, who showed that they held the same opinions. But in his own writings he delivers also other descriptions of our Lord's sayings, which he got from Aristion already mentioned, and traditions of John the elder : to which we refer those who are desirous of knowing more about them ; at present we find it necessary to add to those sayings of his which have been already explained, a tradition respecting Mark who wrote the gospel, which is thus worded :

“And this the elder said. Mark became the expounder of Peter, and wrote accurately whatever he delivered, not indeed in a regular order, such things as were either said or done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of Christ. But afterwards, as I said, he followed Peter, who delivered his teachings as occasion served, but did not make a regular arrangement of our Lord's words : so that Mark made no error, thus writing some things as he delivered them. For he took forethought of one thing, not to leave out any thing of what he heard, or to make a mistake about any thing therein.”

These things are related by Papias about Mark. But about Matthew these are his words :

“Matthew, then, in the Hebrew dialect wrote the oracles : and each person interpreted them as he was able.”

The same man uses testimonies from the former epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter. He sets forth, also, another history, concerning the woman, who was charged with many sins before our Lord, and which is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. [EUSEB. *Ecl. Hist.* iii, 39.]

Frag. 7. Papias says thus :

“To some of them [*the angels*] he gave to rule over the administration of the earth, and he enjoined them to rule it

well." And then he says, "But it happened that their appointment came to nothing." [ANDR. CÆSARIENSIS, *Comm. in Apocalypsin*, cxxxiv, Sermon. 12, ad calcem, ed. Morel. Opp. S. Chrysos. p. 52.]

Frag. 8. Concerning the divine inspiration of this book we deem it superfluous to multiply words, seeing that those blessed men Gregory the Theologian and Cyril, and moreover those of the ancients, Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus, give their testimony in favour of its credibility. [ANDR. CÆSAR. *Comment. in Apocalypsin*.]

Frag. 9. Taking occasion from Papias the true Hierapolite, who followed him that lay on Christ's bosom, and Clement, Pantænus priest of the Alexandrians, and the Ammonius, the ancient and earliest contemporaneous interpreters, who interpreted the Hexahemeron into Christ and all the Church. [ANASTASIUS SINAIT. *Contemplat. in Hexaemeron*, lib. i.]

Frag. 10. Wherefore those interpreters of the churches, I mean Philo the philosopher, and the celebrated Papias, who was contemporary with the apostles, and a disciple of John the evangelist, and Irenæus of Lyons, and Justin Martyr the philosopher, and Pantænus of Alexandria, and Clement the Stromatist, and their adherents, have spiritually imagined of Christ's church those things which are written about Paradise.

Frag. 11. Mary mother of the Lord : Mary wife of Cleophas or Alpheus, who was mother of James the bishop and apostle, and of Simon and Thaddeus and of a certain Joseph ; Mary Salome, wife of Zebedee, mother of John the evangelist and of James ; Mary Magdalene : those four are found in the Gospel. James and Judas and Joseph were sons of the Lord's aunt. James also and John were sons of the Lord's other aunt. Mary, mother of James the Less and of Joseph, wife of Alpheus, was sister of Mary our Lord's mother, whom John names "of Cleophas," either from her father, or from her gentile family, or some other cause. Mary Salome is called either from her husband, or from a village ; some say that this same was "of Cleophas," because she had two husbands [Cod. MS. 2307, *Biblioth. Bodl.*, fol. 286, col. 2.]

VI.

ARISTIDES.

FRAGMENT FROM HIS APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY.

Dionysius the Areopagite, after a most noble confession of the faith, after the most severe kinds of torture, was crowned with a glorious martyrdom, as is testified by Aristides. [USUARDI *Martyrol.* ad 5 Nov. Oct., fol. 166, ed. Lovan. 1576.]

VII.

QUADRATUS, BISHOP OF ATHENS.

FRAGMENT FROM HIS APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY,
ADDRESSED TO HADRIAN.—EUSEB. ECCL. H. iv, 3.

The works of our Saviour were always present; for they were real: those who had been healed, those who rose from the dead, who not only were seen when healed and risen, but also always present. Nor only whilst the Saviour was dwelling among the people, but also when he was gone, they were for a long time, so that some of them have arrived even to our times [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 3.]

VIII.

ANONYMOUS ELDERS

QUOTED BY

IRENÆUS.

Frag. 1.

Mark idol-maker, seer of prodigies,
 Skill'd in astrology and magic art,
 By which thou makest strong erroneous teaching,
 Showing thy signs to those thou makest wander,
 Experiments of the rebellious power,
 Thy father Satan ever doth supply
 To do by Azazel's angelic power
 Whose wickedness 'gainst God hath thee for its forerunner.

[IREN. i, 15.]

Frag. 2. A better man than we hath said that

The emerald which is a precious stone and highly valued by some is insulted by glass when artificially made like to it, when there is not present one who is able to prove and test by art that which is fraudfully manufactured. But when brass is mixed with silver, who that is rude shall be able easily to prove it? [IREN. *Præfat.* i, § 2.]

Frag. 3. Plaster does not mix well with the milk of God [IREN. iii, 17].

Frag. 4. A better man than we has said of such that

A soul excited by empty air is an audacious and impudent thing,

&c., &c. [See notes.]

IX.

AGRIPPA CASTOR

AGAINST

BASILEIDES.

Frag. 1. He [*Agrippa*] says, in showing forth his horrible doctrines, that he compiled twenty-four books on the gospel, and named for himself prophets Barcabas and Barcoph, and some others who never existed, and gave them barbarous names to awe those who are astonished at such things, and that he taught that there is no difference between eating things offered to idols and carelessly abjuring the faith in times of persecution, and that, like Pythagoras, he enjoined on those who came to him a five years' silence; &c. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 7.]

Frag. 2. He [*Agrippa*] names as his greatest deity Abraxas, &c. [HIERON. *de Viris Ill.*]

X.

ARISTO OF PELLA.

THE DISPUTATION OF JASON AND PAPISCUS.

Frag. 1. I remember finding in the Altercation of Jason and Papiscus, which is written in Greek, that

“He who is hung is the curse of God.” [HIERON. *ad. Galat.* lib. ii, c. 3, comm. 13.]

Frag. 2. Some think, as it is written also in the altercation of Jason and Papiscus, and as Tertullian disputes in his book against Praxeas, and as Hilarius affirms in the exposition of a certain psalm, that the Hebrew has “In the Son God made the heaven and the earth.” [HIERON. *Quæst. Heb. in Genes.*]

Frag. 3. All the nation from that time is forbidden altogether to set foot on the country about Jerusalem, by a legal decree and ordinance of Adrian, who commanded that they should not even see their native soil from a distance. Aristo of Pella relates this. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 6.]

Frag. 4. I have read this, “seven heavens,” in the dialogue of Papiscus and Jason written by Aristion of Pella, which Clement of Alexandria, in the sixth book of the Hypotyposes, says that Saint Luke copied out [MAXIMI *Schol. in Dion. Areop. de Myst. Theol.* cap. i, p. 47, ed. Corderii.]

Frag. 5. Wherein a Christian is described as arguing with a Jew, out of the Jewish Scriptures, and showing that the prophecies about the Christ are applicable to Jesus; though the other stands to the argument not ignobly nor unsuitably to the Jewish character [ORIGEN. *adv. Cels.* iv, 52.]

Frag. 6. This remarkable and glorious thing occurs in the dispute between Jason a Hebrew Christian, and Papiscus an Alexandrian Jew: that the perverse hardness of the Jewish heart was softened by the moni

tion and gentle rebuke of the Hebrew; the doctrine of Jason concerning the infusion of the Holy Spirit was victorious in the heart of Papiscus. Whereby Papiscus, being admitted to the understanding of the truth, and formed to the fear of the Lord by the mercy of the Lord himself, both believed on Jesus Christ the Son of God, and asked Jason with entreaty that he might take the seal. This is proved by the account of their Dispute, wherein they strive one against the other, Papiscus opposing the truth, and Jason asserting and vindicating the disposition and fulness of Christ. [CELSI *Præfat. Versionis Operis Aristoniani, ad Calcem Cypriani Operum*, p. 31, ed. Fell.]

XI.

S. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS,

BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS.

 HIS BOOK CONCERNING EASTER.

Frag. 1. There are some who from ignorance strive concerning these things, being in a pardonable case: for ignorance does not admit of accusation, but needs instruction. And they say that the Lord ate the lamb with his disciples on the fourteenth day, but himself suffered on the great day of unleavened bread: and they say that Matthew so speaks as they have understood it: wherefore their sense is not in agreement with the law: and the gospels seem according to them to be at variance. [*Præfat. Chronici Paschalis*, p. 6, ed. Ducang.]

Frag. 2. The fourteenth day is the true passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice, the Son of God that was instead of the lamb, the bound one who bound the strong, and the judged who was judge of living and dead; and he that was delivered into the hands of sinners, that he might be crucified, he that was exalted on the wings of the unicorn, and that was pierced in his holy side, he that poured out of his side the two things that purify, water and blood, the word and the spirit; and he that was buried on the day of the Passover, a stone being placed upon the tomb [*Chron. Pasch. ibid.*]

From an uncertain work.

Frag. 3. From that time, he says, the legion which had wrought this miracle by prayer, received from the emperor a name suitable to the fact, being called in the language of the Romans the Thundering legion [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* v, 5.]

XII.

DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF CORINTH.

I. EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

Frag. 1. Thus you also by such admonition blended together the planting of the Romans and Corinthians that arose from Peter and Paul. For both also, when they planted us into our own Corinth, likewise taught us : and likewise also having carried their teaching into Italy also, they became martyrs at the same time. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* ii, 25.]

Frag. 2. For it is a custom among you from the beginning, to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send supplies to many churches in every city, refreshing in this way the poverty of the needy, and giving supplies to the brethren in the mines, maintaining, ye Romans, by the supplies which ye send from ancient times, the custom of Romans handed down from your fathers, which your blessed bishop Soter has not only kept up, but also increased, furnishing the abundance which is distributed among the saints, and with blessed words comforting the brethren who go up to him, as a loving father does his children. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, 23.]

Frag. 3. To-day we have celebrated the Lord's holy day, in which we read your letter, which we shall always have to read and to advise you, as the former also that was written to us by Clement. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, 23.]

Frag. 4. For when the brethren asked me to write epistles, I wrote them. And these the apostles of the devil filled with tares, taking out some things, and adding others. For whom is laid us the woe! It is therefore no wonder if also some have set themselves to trifle with the writings of our Lord, since they have attempted to do so with these which are not such as those. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, 23.]

XIII.

PINYTUS, BISHOP OF GNOSSUS.

HIS LETTER TO DIONYSIUS.

[He exhorts him to]

Give now some more solid food, nourishing the people that are under him for the future with more perfect writings, that they may not, by dwelling always on honeyed words, grow old imperceptibly on childish nurture. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, 23.]

XIV.

HEGESIPPUS.

COMMENTARIES ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

Frag. 1.

BOOK V.

James, the brother of the Lord, receives the church from the apostles, termed Just by all from the times of the Lord even until us. For many were called James; but he was holy even from his mother's womb: he drank not wine nor strong drink, neither ate any thing living. Razor went not up on his head; he anointed not with oil, and used not bath. To him alone it was lawful to enter into the holy places. For neither did he wear woollen, but linen. And he went alone into the temple, and was found lying upon his knees, and asking forgiveness for the people, so that his knees became hard like a camel, because he was always bending them in worship of God, and asking forgiveness for the people. On account of the excess of his righteousness he was called Righteous and *Oblias*, which is in Greek bulwark of the people and righteousness, as the prophets show concerning him. Some then of the seven heresies that were among the people, which have been described before in my memoirs, asked him, which was the gate of Jesus; and he said that this was the Saviour. Of whom some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the heresies aforesaid did not believe either the resurrection, or that he will come and render to each according to his works. But as

many as believed, it was through James. When then many of the rulers believed, there was a tumult of the Jews, both scribes and Pharisees saying that all the people ran a risk of looking after Jesus as the Christ. They then coming together said to James, "We exhort thee: restrain the people, since they have gone astray to Jesus, as if he were the Christ: we exhort thee to persuade all that have come to the day of the passover concerning Christ: for we all obey thee. For we bear thee witness, and so do all the people, that thou art righteous and acceptest no person. Persuade the people then not to err concerning Jesus. For both all the people and we all obey thee. Stand then on the pinnacle of the Temple, that thou mayest be visible aloft, and that thy words may be audible to all the people. For all the tribes with the nations also have come together on account of the passover." The aforesaid scribes and Pharisees then placed James on the pinnacle of the Temple, and cried to him and said, "Thou righteous man, whom we all are bound to obey, since the people wanders after Jesus that was crucified, tell us which is the door of Jesus." And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do ye ask me concerning Jesus the son of man? And he sitteth in heaven on the right hand of the great power, and is about to come on the clouds of heaven." And when many were fully assured, and glorified at the testimony of James and said, Hosanna to the son of David, then again the same scribes and Pharisees said to one another, "We have done ill in giving such a testimony to Jesus: but let us go up and cast him down, that they may be frightened and not believe him." And they cried out saying, "Oh, oh! the righteous man also is gone astray." And they fulfilled the Scripture which is written in Isaiah, "Let us remove the just, for he is a stumbling-block unto us: therefore they eat the offspring of their own works." They therefore went up and cast down the righteous man, and said to one another, "Let us stone James the Just." And they began to stone him, since when cast down he did not die, but turning to, bent his knees, saying, "I

pray thee, Lord God Father, forgive them ; for they know not what they do." But when they were thus stoning him, one of the priests sons of Rhechab son of Rhachabim witnessed by Jeremiah the prophet, cried saying, "Be still: what are ye doing? the righteous man prays for you." And one of the fullers of them, having taken the club with which he beat the clothes, dashed it against the just man's head. And thus he became a martyr. And they buried him at the place by the temple, and his pillar still remains by the temple. He was a true witness to the Jews and the Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian besieges them. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, ii, 23.]

Frag. 2. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that fear him." Hegesippus, an ancient and apostolic man, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, I know not for what cause, says that these things were said in vain, and that those who say such things, lie against the divine scriptures and our Lord who says, Blessed are your eyes which see, and your ears which hear, &c. [STEP. GOBAR. *ap. Phot. in Biblioth. cod. ccxxxii*, col. 893.]

From an uncertain book.

Frag. 3. There were still surviving those of the family of our Lord, children's children of Judas, who is called after the flesh his brother, whom they pointed out as being of the race of David. Juocatus brought these to Domitian Cæsar: for he feared the coming of Christ, as did also Herod. And he asked them if they were descended from David: and they confessed it. Then he asked them how many possessions they had, or of how much property they were possessed. But they both said that nine thousand denarii alone belonged to them, the half belonging to each of them. And they said that they had these not in money, but in valuation of thirty-nine measures only of land, from which also they paid the taxes, and maintained themselves by their own labour upon it. And that they then also showed their hands, exhibiting as a witness of their self-labour the hard-

ness of their bodies, and the callosities imprinted upon their own hands from the constant work. But when asked about Christ and his kingdom, of what nature it was, and where and when it would appear, they made a statement, that it was not worldly nor earthly, but heavenly and angelic, about to come at the completion of the age, when he coming in glory should judge quick and dead, and he shall render to each according to his pursuits. At which things that Domitian passed no judgment upon them, but also despising them as simple, let them go free, and by proclamation put a stop to the persecution against the church. But that they, being freed, took the lead of the churches, as being at the same time martyrs and of the family of the Lord, and, when there was peace, they remained in this life until the time of Trajan. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iii, 20.]

Frag. 4. They [the nephews of Judas] come then and take the lead of all the church, as martyrs and of the family of the Lord. And, when there was a dead quiet in all the church, they remained until the time of Trajan Cæsar. Until the aforesaid Symeon, son of Clopas, of the uncle of our Lord, having been informed against by the heresies, was himself also in like manner accused on the same charge in the time of Atticus the consul. And being scourged for many days, he became a martyr, so that all wondered exceedingly, and the consul also, how he persevered, being an hundred and twenty years old : and he was ordered to be crucified.

Here Hegesippus, relating about those I have named, adds that up to these times the church remained pure and incorrupt, seeing that those, whosoever they were, who attempted to corrupt the sound rule of saving preaching still lurked in obscure darkness. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iii, 22.]

Frag. 5. For whom they made cenotaphs and shrines as until this day : of whom is also Antinous the slave of Hadrian Cæsar ; for whom also are celebrated the Antinoëan games, which took place in our times. For he also established both

a city surnamed from Antinous, and prophets. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, iv., 8.]

Frag. 6. And the church of the Corinthians remained in the right doctrine until Primus bishop in Corinth: with whom I joined company, as I was sailing to Rome, and I spent with the Corinthians many days, in which we found enjoyment in the right faith. But being in Rome, I made my reception with Anicetus, whose minister [deacon] was Eleutherus. And after Anicetus succeeds Soter, after whom was Eleutherus. But in each succession and in each city so it is, as the law orders, and the prophets, and the Lord. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 22.]

Frag. 7. And after James the Just had become a martyr like the Lord for the same doctrine, again Symeon son of Clopas from his uncle becomes bishop, whom all set forth second, being cousin of the Lord. On account of this they called the church a virgin; for it had not yet been defiled by vain hearings. Thebuthis was the first to corrupt it, because he was not made bishop, from the seven heresies, (of which also he came) among the people, of which was Simon, whence the Simonians, and Cleobios, whence the Cleobienians, and Dositheus, whence the Dositheanians, and Gorthæus, whence the Gorathenians, and Masbotheos, whence the Masbothæans, from these the Menandrianistæ, and the Marcionistæ, and Carpocratianians, and Valentinianians, and Basilidiani, and Saturniliani, each severally and otherwise advanced their private glory. From these arose false Christs, false prophets, false apostles, who severed the unity of the church with corrupt words against God and against his Christ.

Frag. 8. There were these different opinions in the circumcision among the sons of Israel of those from the tribe of Judah and the Christ: Essæans, Galilæans, Day-baptizers, Masbotheans, Samaritæ, Sadducees, Pharisees. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 22.]

Frag. 9. Of these [heretics] some accuse Symeon the [son]

of Clopas as being descended from David and a Christian : and so he, being an hundred and twenty years old, becomes a martyr in the time of Trajanus Cæsar and Atticus the pro-consul. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iii, 32.]

Frag. 10. Hegesippus relates that Clopas was the brother of Joseph. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iii, 11.]

XV.

LETTER FROM

THE MARTYRS OF LYONS

TO

ELEUTHERUS BISHOP OF ROME.

We pray that thou mayest be prosperous in all things and always, father Eleutherus. These writings we have exhorted our brother and fellow Irenæus to convey to thee ; and we exhort you to have him in commendation, as he is a zealot of the covenant of Christ. For if we had known that place gives righteousness to any one, we would especially have commended him to you, as an elder of the church, a rank which belongs to him [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* v, 4].

XVI.

LETTER FROM THE

CHURCHES OF LYONS AND VIENNE

TO

THE CHURCHES IN ASIA.

Frag. 1. The dwellers in Vienne and Lyons of Gaul, slaves of Christ, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia who have the same faith and hope of redemption with us, peace and grace and glory from God the Father and our Lord Christ Jesus.

1. The greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against the saints, and what things the blessed martyrs have suffered, we are not able exactly to express by word, or comprehend in writing. For the adversary endeavoured with all his might, showing tokens of his preparatives and disposed entrance to persecution, and passing throughout all places, acquainted and instructed his followers to strive against the servants of God : so that we were not only banished our houses, baths, and common market-places, but altogether every one of us straightly charged not to show his face.

2. Yet the grace of God withstood him, delivering the weaklings, and contrariwise upholding certain others, as sure and immovable pillars, which through their sufferance were

able not only to repel the violence of the spiteful adversary, but also to provoke him, patiently abiding all kinds of slander and punishment. To be short, accounting great torments but as small trifles, they hastened unto Christ, declaring, as is the truth, that the passions of these present times are not worthy of the glory which shall be revealed unto us. And first of all, they bear manfully all such vexations as the multitude laid upon them; as exclamations, scourgings, draggings, spoiling, stoning, fettering, and the like, whatsoever the heady and savage multitude are accustomed to practise against their professed enemies.

3. Next, being led into the open market-place, and examination had, they were condemned in presence of the people by the tribune and the other chief potentates of the city, and cast into prison, until the president's coming. After that, when they were brought before the president, who had exercised all kind of extreme cruelty against us, Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren (having fulness of love towards God and man, whose conversation was so perfect, although a young man, that he was thought comparable with Zacharias the priest, for he walked unblameably in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord, and very serviceably towards his neighbours, having great zeal and fervency of the spirit of God) allowed not of the sentence unjustly pronounced against us, but with vehement motion required that audience might be given him to plead for the brethren, alleging that we had committed no impiety. Which being denied him (for he was a noble man) of such as compassed the tribunal seat, and of the president rejecting this just petition, and only demanding whether he was a Christian, he confessed it with a loud voice, and so he was received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the Christians. For he having the Spirit which is the Comforter, in greater abundance than Zacharias, declared the fulness of love that was in him, in that he spared not his life in defence of the brethren. He was and is the true disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whitherso-

ever he goeth. From that moment the other proto-martyrs, stirred up by this example, hasten themselves unto martyrdom, and are become livelier, and readier, accomplishing the confession of martyrdom with all cheerfulness of mind. There were certain others found unready, less exercised, and as yet weak, not of ability to bear the burden of so weighty a combat (in number ten) which fell through the frailty of the flesh, to our great heaviness and sorrowful lamentation, checking the cheerfulness of others, which were not as yet apprehended, but accompanied the martyrs what torments soever befel them, and severed not themselves from them. Then we trembled all for fear, and that greatly, because of the uncertainty of confessions; being not terrified with any torments, but careful for the end, lest any should fall from the faith. Daily there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of the fallen weaklings; so that out of both these churches as many as ruled and bore the greatest sway were taken and executed, and withal certain of the Gentiles, being our servants, were taken (for the president had commanded publicly a general inquisition to be made for us) who being overcome by the subtle sleights of Satan, and terrified with the sight of the torments which the saints suffered, through the persuasions of the soldiers, urging them forwards, feigned against us, and reported that we used the feastings of Thyestes, and the incest of Œdipus, with divers other crimes, which may neither godlily be thought upon, nor with modesty be uttered, nor without impiety be believed. These things now being bruited abroad, everybody was moved and incensed against us, inso-much that they which for familiarity's sake used moderation before, now were exceedingly moved and mad with us. Then was that saying of our Saviour fulfilled, to wit: The time will come when every one that slayeth you shall think that therein he doth God good service.

5. Then suffered the holy martyrs such torments as tongue cannot express. And Satan also provoked them with all might possible, that they should utter some blasphemy. Great

was the whole rage both of people, president, and soldiers, set against Sanctus, deacon of the church of Vienne; and against Maturus, lately baptized, yet a notable warrior; and against Attalus, a Pergamenian, who was always a pillar and fortress for our faith; and against Blandina, a woman, by whom Christ showed that those things which in the sight of men appear vile, base, and contemptible, deserve great glory with God, for the true love they bear towards him indeed, without boasting in show. For when we all quaked for fear, yea and her carnal mistress (which also was one of the persecuted martyrs) was very careful lest that peradventure at the time of her answer, by reason of the frailty of the flesh, she should not persevere constant: Blandina was so replenished with grace from above, that the executioners which tormented her by turns from morning to night fainted for weariness, and ceased, confessing themselves overcome, and that they were no longer able to plague her with any more punishments; marvelling that as yet she drew breath, having her whole body rent in pieces, and the wounds open; they confessing withal that one of those torments was of force sufficient to cost her her life, much more so many and so great. But this blessed woman, like a noble wrestler, was renewed at her confession; for as oft as she pronounced, "I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evil," she was recreated, refreshed, and felt no pain of her punishment.

6. Sanctus also bore nobly and valiantly, yea above the nature of man, all such vexations as man could devise. When those lawless people, by reason of his great sufferings and torments, had well hoped to have heard some indecent and uncomely speech out of his mouth, his constancy was so great that he uttered neither his own name, neither his kindred, neither the country whence he was, nor whether he were bond or free, but unto every question he answered, in the Roman tongue, "I am a Christian." Thus confessed he often, instead of all other things, of his name, and city, and kindred; neither could the Gentiles get any other language of him, wherefore

the president and the tormentors were fiercely set against him. And when now there remained no punishment unpractised, at length they applied unto the tenderest parts of his body plates of brass glowing hot, which fried, seared, and scorched his body, yet he remained unmovable, nothing amazed, and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moistened with the dew which fell from the celestial fountain of the water of life, gushing out of the womb of Christ. His body bore witness of the burning. For over all his body his flesh was wounded, his members bescarred, his sinews shrank, so that the natural shape and outward hue was quite changed, in whom Christ suffering, obtained unspeakable glory, conquering Satan, and leaving an example for the instruction of others, that no torment is terrible where the Father is beloved, no lamentation loathsome where Christ is glorified. When the wicked tormentors a few days after had brought him to the place of torment, and well hoped that if they punished him now (having his whole body puffed up with swelling and festered wounds, so sore that it might not be touched, no not with the least finger) they should overcome him, and prevail; or that if he died in torment, they should terrify the rest, and so warn them to take heed: none of all these happened unto him, but, beyond all man's expectation, in the latter torments his body was released of the pain, recovered the former shape, and the members were restored to their former use, so that the second plague, through the grace of Christ, was no grievous malady, but a present medicine.

7. Again, the devil, thinking he had already devoured Byblis, and her a woman (one of them which had fainted before), and wishing to condemn her further by blasphemy, caused her to be brought forth, supposing her frail and fearful mind now to be quite altered from the Christian opinion, and consequently through her blasphemous denial to be in danger of damnation. But she at the very hour of torment returned unto herself, and waking as it were out of a dead sleep, by means of these punishments temporal, considered of the pains

eternal in hell fire, and, unlooked for, cried out unto the tormentors, and said, "How could they devour infants which were not suffered to suck the blood of brute beasts?" Therefore when she confessed herself a Christian, she was appointed to take her chance among the martyrs.

8. When these tyrannical torments were taken away of Christ, through the patience of the blessed saints, the devil invented other mischiefs, to wit: the imprisoning of the saints in deep and dark dungeons, fettering of them in the stocks, stretching their feet unto the fifth board chink, with other punishments, which furious ministers, full of devilish rage, are wont to put in use and practice upon poor prisoners. So that many were stifled and strangled in prison, whom the Lord would have so to end this life, and to show forth his glory. For the saints being so sore weakened with grievous torments, that though all medicines were ministered unto them, yet life seemed to them impossible, remained shut up in close prison, destitute of all man's aid, but comforted of the Lord, and confirmed in body and mind, so that they stirred up and comforted the rest. The younger sort that were newly apprehended, whose bodies had not before tasted of the lash of the whip, loathed the closeness of the prison, and were choked up with stench.

9. But blessed Potheinus to whom the charge of the bishop's see of Lyons was committed, being above fourscore and ten years old, weak of body, scarce able to draw breath, because of the imbecility of nature, being strengthened with the cheerfulness of the spirit, for the conceived joy of martyrdom which he desired, was brought forth before the tribunal seat, faint in body, for that he was old and sickly, his life being for this end reserved, that Christ by the means of it might triumph. He was carried of the soldiers and laid before the tribunal seat, accompanied with the potentates of the city, and the whole multitude, diversely shouting, as if he had been Christ; he hath given a good testimony. And being demanded of the president who is the God of the

Christians, he answered: If thou become worthy thou shalt understand. After this answer he was cruelly handled, and suffered many stripes: for such as were nearest unto him struck at him both with hand and foot, reverencing his years nothing at all: and such as stood afar off, look what each one had in his hand, that was thrown at his head: and such as ceased from pouring out their poisoned malice, thought themselves to have grievously offended, supposing by these means to revenge the ruin of their rotten gods. But he, almost breathless, was thrown into prison, where, after two days, he departed this life.

10. Here was shown the great providence of Almighty God, and the infinite mercy of Jesus Christ, though very seldom outwardly appearing unto the brethren, yet never destitute of the power of Christ. And as many as fainted in the first persecution, were all alike imprisoned and partaker of the affliction. Neither did they prevail, or the denial profit them: it was thought a sufficient fault that they confessed to have been such: but these, as murderers and heinous trespassers, were-twicemore grievously plagued. The joy of martyrdom, the hoped promises, the love towards Christ, and the fatherly spirit comforted the one company: the other were vexed in conscience, so that their outward countenance betrayed their inward apostasy: for the former went cheerfully with great majesty and grace, their fetters becoming them as the skirts of the new-married spouse, garnished with sundry colours, and laid over with gold, and withal yielding a Christian fragrant smell, so that many supposed their bodies to have been outwardly perfumed: but the other, all sad and sorrowful, as vile and abject caitiffs, misshapen creatures, full of all deformity, derided of the Gentiles themselves, deserving death as degenerate cowards, destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively name of Christianity. With the sight hereof many were confirmed, so that suddenly being apprehended, without stay they protested their faith, not hindered with one thought of devilish persuasion.

A little after in the said epistle thus it followeth :

11. After these things the forms of martyrdom are framed, and divided into divers sorts. For of many fair-coloured and sweet-smelling flowers, they offered unto God the Father one well-twisted and compacted crown or garland. It behoved noble champions, having borne the brunt of so variable a combat, and gotten a magnificent victory, to triumph with an incorruptible crown of immortality. Maturus then, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus, were led unto the brute beasts, in the popular and public spectacle of the heathenish inhumanity, even at the day appointed of set purpose by our men for so brutal a combat. Where again Maturus and Sanctus were diversely tormented with all kind of punishments as if they had suffered nothing before. Yea, rather (as it were with many new means) repelling the adversary, they bore the victorious garland, suffering again all the wonted revilings, all the cruelty of the savage beasts, and whatsoever the outrageous multitude craved and commanded, and above all, they patiently suffered the iron chair, wherein their bodies broiled as in a frying-pan, filling such as were present with the loathsome savour of that their fulsome froth. Neither were they thus contented, but practised further to overcome the patient sufferance of the saints. Neither could they get any other sentence of Sanctus, save that confession which he cried at the first. At length when these saints had endured this great and grievous trial, they were slain and executed, after all that whole day they had been made a spectacle unto the world, in that variable combat, as commonly it falleth out in equal matches, where one fighteth with another. But Blandina was hanged in chains, an object for the wild beasts to exercise their savage violence upon; no doubt so done by the ordinance of God, that the hanging in the form of a cross might, by her incessant prayer, procure cheerfulness of mind unto the saints that suffered, whereas they in that agony beholding with outward eye in their sister, him that was crucified for them, might persuade the faithful that such

as suffer for Christ's sake shall have fellowship with the living God. After that she had hung a long while, and no beast touched her, she is taken down, cast into prison, and reserved for further torment, that being conqueror of many combats, she might provide for the crooked serpent, inexcusable condemnation, and animate the brethren unto cheerfulness, she being a weak and contemptible person, putting on the great, the strong, and invincible Champion Christ Jesus, obtaining, through her often and manifold patience, the incorruptible crown of glory. Attalus, also a famous man, was earnestly called for of the people unto punishment, who being ready, and of a clear conscience, came forth. For he being notably exercised in the Christian profession, was always a witness and defender of the truth. Therefore when he was led about the theatre, with a scroll before him, wherein was written in the Roman tongue: This is Attalus the Christian: and the people had raged against him, the president knowing that he was a Roman, commanded him to be imprisoned, and closely kept with the other prisoners, concerning whom he had written unto Cæsar, and expected an answer.

12. But the time passing between was neither vain nor fruitless, for the infinite mercy of Christ Jesus our Saviour shone in the world through their patience. The dead were by the living revived; the martyrs profited such as were no martyrs, the pure virgin and mother the church was greatly comforted and cherished, when as she recovered and received for living, such as before she had lost as untimely births and dead fruit. For many which before had fainted, by their means were restored, regenerated, stirred up afresh, taught to protest their faith, and now being quickened, and strengthened, having tasted of him which wills not the death of a sinner, but is merciful unto the penitent, they come forth before the tribunal seat, ready to answer unto the interrogatories of the president. And because that Cæsar had commanded by writing, that such as confessed themselves Christians should be executed, and such as renounced should depart

from that thronged solemnity (which by reason of the concourse of the Gentiles from every country, was at the beginning very populous) he brought forth from prison the blessed confessors into the open spectacle and presence of the people, to be scornfully gazed upon, and when he had again made inquisition of them, as many as he found to be privileged persons of Rome, those he beheaded, the rest he threw to be rent asunder and torn in pieces of wild beasts.

13. Christ was greatly glorified in those who at first denied, and at last, beyond all expectation of the heathen, boldly confessed their faith. They severally were examined, to be set at liberty, but after confession they were coupled to the number of the martyrs. But they tarried without, which had no grain of faith, no feeling of the wedding garment, no sparkle of the fear of God, but rather through their wicked conversation, blasphemed the way of God as sons of perdition. All the others were coupled to the Christian congregation; and at the time of examination, Alexander, a Phrygian born, professing physic, having dwelt in France many years, a man well known for his great zeal to Godwards, and boldness of speech (for he was not without apostolic grace) stood hard by the tribunal seat, and nigh the examined persons, exhorting them to boldness of confession, by signs and tokens; so that by his sorrowing and sighing, by his hopping and skipping to and fro, he was descried of the standers by. And when the multitude round had taken in evil part, that they which before had recanted, again did confess, with one consent they cried out against Alexander as author thereof. And when the president had urged him, and demanded of him what he was, he answered, I am a Christian; for which answer the president allotted him unto the beasts, of them to be rent in pieces and devoured. The next day after, together with Attalus, he is brought forth, (for the president, to gratify the people, delivered him unto the beasts to be baited the second time.) And when these had tasted of all the torments provided for them in the amphitheatre around, and suffered great

pain, in the end they were put to death. Of which number Alexander not once sighed, neither uttered any kind of speech, but inwardly from the heart talked with God. Attalus, burning in the scalding iron chair, glowing hot, so that the savour of his broiled body filled their nostrils, said unto the multitude in the Roman tongue: Behold this that you do is to devour men; but we neither devour men, nor commit any other heinous offence. And being demanded what name God had, he answered: God is not called after the manner of men.

14. After all these things, upon the last day of the spectacles, Blandina, together with Ponticus, (a young man of fifteen years of age) was brought forth (which thing was daily used, to the end they might behold the torments of the rest) whom they compelled to swear by their idols' names. But they constantly persevering in their opinion, and contemning their idols, set the multitude in such a rage against them, that they neither pitied the years of the young man, nor spared the womankind, but plagued them with all kinds of punishments used in their theatres, urging them now and then to swear; which when they could not bring to pass, Ponticus, being encouraged of the sister in presence of the pagans, who then beheld how she exhorted and confirmed the young man: after that he had suffered all kinds of bitter torments, yielded up the ghost. Last of all blessed Blandina, like a noble mother, having exhorted her children, and sent them before, as conquerors unto the king, pondering with herself all the punishments of her children, hastened after them, joying and triumphing at her end, as if she had been invited to a wedding dinner, and not to be cast among wild beasts. After scourging, after fighting with wild beasts, after the broiling of her body as it were in a frying-pan, at length she was wrapped in a net, and tumbled before a wild bull, which fanned and tossed her with his horns to and fro, yet had she no feeling of all these things, her mind being fixed and wholly set upon the conference which she had with Christ, and in

the end she was beheaded, the pagans themselves pronouncing: That never any woman was heard of among them to have suffered so many and so great torments.

15. Neither did their cruelty and rage against the Christians so cease. For the savage and barbarous Gentiles, being provoked by a furious and brutal fiend, could not quiet themselves, but that their furious rage practised another kind of malicious spite upon the dead carcasses: neither were they pleased in that they were overcome, and void of natural feeling and sense, but proceeded further, like brute beasts, both president and people were furiously provoked, prosecuting us with like hatred, that the Scripture might be fulfilled which saith, "He that is wicked, let him be wicked still, and he that is just, let him work righteousness still." For as many as were choked up with the noisome stench of the prison were thrown to be devoured of dogs, and a continual watch set, day and night, that none of them should be buried of us. And gathering together the relics of the martyrs' bodies, some undevoured of beasts, some unburned by fire, partly torn and partly burned, with the heads and stumps of others uncovered with earth, they committed them for the space of many days unto the custody of soldiers. Others fretted and fumed, snarling at them, with the gnashing of their teeth, seeking further revenge upon them. Others derided and scoffed them, magnifying their idols as causers of this our calamity. And such as were of a milder nature, and somewhat sorrowed at our suffering, upbraided us, and said, "Where is their God, and what profited them this religion, which they preferred before their lives?" And such was the variable and devilish disposition of the infidels, to our great sorrow, because we were not permitted to bury the dead bodies of the martyrs. Neither stood the night unto us in any stead for that purpose, neither would money persuade the keepers, nor our prayers move them, but they kept the bruised carcasses of the saints, as if some great commodity grew unto them by keeping them unburied.

Again, after a few lines, thus they write :—

16. To be short, after that the bodies of the blessed saints had been every kind of way spitefully and scornfully intreated, lying whole six days unburied, at length they were burned to ashes; the ashes also they gathered and scattered in the river Rhodanus, which passed by, so that no jot nor relic thereof should longer remain upon earth. This they did to the end that they might overcome God, and hinder the reviving of the saints; lest that (as they said) there should be any further hope of the resurrection, whereof (say they) the Christians being fully persuaded, bring amongst us a strange and new religion, they contemn punishment, and hasten themselves cheerfully unto death. Now let us see whether they can arise, and whether their God can help and deliver them from our hands.

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17. They were such followers of Christ (who when he was in the form of God thought it no robbery to be equal with God) that being set in such glory they suffered torments, neither once, nor twice, but often and again, being taken from the beasts, having the print of hot irons and scars, and wounds in their bodies, neither called they themselves martyrs, nor permitted others so to term them: but if any of us so named them in our epistles, they sharply rebuked us; they attributed the name of martyrdom with full mind unto Christ, who was the faithful and true martyr, the first fruits of the dead, and the guide unto life. They called to mind their miserable torments which ended the race and course of this life with blessed martyrdom, saying, "They now are martyrs whom Christ vouchsafed to receive unto him by confession, and, through the passage of this persecuted life, to seal their martyrdom among the number of the blessed saints; but we are mean, and base, and humble confessors." They beseeched the brethren, with waterish eyes and wet cheeks, to pray incessantly for their happy ends. They expressed lively the

power of martyrdom, while they resisted the heathens with liberty and boldness, showing their noble courage through patience, their constancy without fear or trembling, and being called martyrs of the brethren, refused it with the fulness of the fear of God.

. . . . They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by the which they are now highly exalted; they rendered unto all men an account in the defence of their faith; they accused none, freed all, and bound no man; they prayed for their persecutors, after the example of Stephen, that perfect martyr, who said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." If he prayed for them that stoned him, how much more for the brethren?

. . . . The greatest combat they had with him (meaning the serpent) was for the sincerity of love. So that the roaring lion being foiled before, now quickened and stirred up such as he thought to have had devoured. They showed no insolent arrogance towards them that fell, but ministered unto such as wanted of their abundance, being affectioned with motherly pity and compassion towards them, and shedding many tears unto God the Father for their sakes, they craved life and he granted it them, which life they communicated to their neighbours: and so they passing as conquerors in all things, embracing peace, and showing the same unto us, departed this life with peace, and posted unto the heavenly and celestial paradise, leaving no grief behind them unto the mother, no sedition or war unto the brethren, but joy, and peace, and concord, and love.

. . . . There was among them one Alcibiades, who lived miserably, feeding only on bread and water. When he had determined with himself so to live in prison, it was revealed unto Attalus, after his first conflict on the theatre, that Alcibiades did not well, in that he used not the lawful

creatures of God, and also gave an occasion of doubting unto others. Hereof when Alcibiades was persuaded, he used all things indifferently, and praised God. For they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the Holy Ghost for their director. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, v, 1-4.]

XVII.

PANTÆNUS

OF

ALEXANDRIA.

Frag. 1. Our Pantænus said that

Prophecy uses words indefinitely, for the most part, and uses the present tense for the future, and again the present for the past [CLEMENS ALEX. *Eclog. ex Prophetis*, § lvi].

Frag. 2. The school of Pantænus answered that God knows

Neither sensible things by the senses, nor intellectual things by the intellect. For it is not possible that he who is above things that be should comprehend things that be by things that be. But we say that God knows things that be as his own acts of volition, adding also the reasonableness of reason; for, if he made all things by his will and no reason opposes, but it is always righteous and just to say that God knows his own will, and he willingly made each of things that are, therefore God knows the things that be, as his own acts of volition, since also he willingly made the things that be. [MAXIMI *Scholia in Greg. Theol. ad finem Joan. Erigenæ Scoti de Divisione Nat.* ed. Gale, p. 19.]

XVIII.

RHODON.

HIS WORK AGAINST MARCION,

ADDRESSED TO CALLISTION.

Frag. 1. On this account also they were inharmonious among themselves, holding an inconstant opinion. For one of their crew, Apelles, who assumed a grave demeanour and old age, confesses one beginning, but says that prophecies are of a contrary spirit, in obedience to the declarations of an inspired virgin named Philumene. Others, as also the sailor Marcion himself, introduce two beginnings. Of whom are both Potitus and Basilicus. And these, following that Pontic wolf, and not finding the distinction of things, as he also did not, turned to recklessness, and declared two beginnings simply and without proof. But others of them again turning off to the worse, lay down not only two, but also three natures, of whom the leader and champion is Syneros, as those say who put forth his teaching.

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Frag. 2. For old Apelles having joined us was convicted of saying many things falsely: wherefore also he said that it was not right at all to question the doctrine, but that each should remain, as he believed. For he declared that those who

trusted in him that was crucified would be saved, only if they are found in good works. But that which was most obscure of all things taught by him, as we have said before, was about God. For he spoke of one beginning, as also is our doctrine.

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Frag. 3. But when I said to him, Tell us where you get this demonstration, or how you can speak of one beginning : he said that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they said nothing at all true : for they are discordant and false and opposite to one another. But he said he did not know how there is one beginning, but only that he was so moved. Then when I had sworn to speak the truth, he swore that he spoke the truth in saying that he did not know how there is one unbegotten God, but this he believed. But I condemned him with laughter, because, though he said he was a teacher, he did not know how to confirm that which was taught by him. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* v, 13.]

XIX.

SYNODICAL LETTER

OF THE

COUNCIL OF CÆSAREA.

Fragment.

Endeavour to send apart copies of our letter to every church, that we may not be subject to those who easily lead astray their own souls. But we show you that in Alexandria also they keep it on the same day as we do. For letters are conveyed to them from us, and to us from them, so that we keep the holy day harmoniously and at the same time. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* v, 25.]

XX.

POLYCRATES, BISHOP OF EPHESUS.

 FRAGMENT OF HIS SYNODICAL LETTER

TO

VICTOR, BISHOP OF ROME.

We then celebrate the inviolable day, neither adding to it nor taking from it. For in Asia also great elements have been laid to sleep: which will rise again on the last day of the coming of the Lord, in which he comes with glory from heaven, and shall seek out all the saints, Philip one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, virgins who have grown old; and his other daughter whose conversation was in the Holy Spirit, rests in Ephesus. But moreover also John, who leaned on the breast of the Lord, who became a priest bearing the plate, and martyr and teacher: he sleeps in Ephesus. Moreover Polycarp also both bishop and martyr in Smyrna, and Thraseas and bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who sleeps in Smyrna. Why need I speak of Sagaris bishop and martyr, who sleeps in Laodicea? Moreover also the blessed Papirius, and Melito the eunuch, whose conversation was wholly on the Holy Spirit: he lies in Sardis waiting for the overseership from heaven, in which he shall rise from the dead. All these kept the day of the fourteenth of the passover according to

the gospel, transgressing in nothing, but following according to the rule of the faith. Moreover I also Polycrates the least of all of you, according to the tradition of my kinsmen, some of whom I have followed.—I had seven kinsmen bishops, and I the eighth: and my kinsmen always celebrated the day, when the people removed the leaven—I then, my brethren, being sixty-five years in the Lord, and having conferred with the brethren of the whole world, and having gone through all sacred writing, am not disturbed at those who threaten us; for those who are greater than I have said, we must obey God rather than men.

I could name the bishops that were present, whom you ordered to be assembled by me, and I sent for them: whose names if I write, they are large numbers. But those who have seen my small man, have consented to the letter, knowing that I have not borne my grey hairs in vain, but have ever conversed in the Lord Jesus. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* v, 24.]

XXI.

SYNODICAL LETTER

OF

THE COUNCIL OF LYONS:

WRITTEN BY

IRENÆUS, BISHOP OF LYONS,

TO

VICTOR, BISHOP OF ROME.

Frag. 1. For not only is the controversy concerning the day, but also concerning the very nature of the fast. For some think that they ought to fast one day, others two, and others more. Some measure their day as forty hours both of the day and of the night. Such is the variance of those who observe it, which arose not in our times, but long before in the time of those who preceded us, who, as is likely, governed negligently, and left a simple and irregular custom to posterity. And nevertheless both all of these have been at peace, and we are at peace with one another; and the difference about the fast holds together the harmony of the faith.

To this he adds a history, which I will opportunely insert, in form as follows:

And the elders before Soter, who governed the church

which you now are at the head of, we mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus and Xystus, neither themselves kept it, nor enjoined those who were with them to do so; and nevertheless those who did not keep it, were at peace with those who came to them from the districts in which it was kept. And still more opposed was the keeping it to those who did not keep it: and never were any rejected for this peculiarity: but the elders your predecessors, who themselves did not keep it, sent the Eucharist to those from the districts who kept it. And when the blessed Polycarp was sojourning at Rome in the time of Anicetus, when also they had some small matters with one another concerning other subjects, they immediately were at peace, not being fond of strife with one another on this head. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to keep it, seeing that he had always kept it with John the disciple of our Lord and with the other disciples, with whom he dwelt; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to keep it, for he said that he ought to retain the custom of the elders who went before him. And though things were so, they were in communion with one another: and Anicetus conceded the eucharist in the church to Polycarp, out of respect, and they parted in peace from one another, in peace with all the church, both those who kept it and those who did not keep it. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, v, 24.]

Frag. 2. In whatsoever a man is able to do good to his neighbours and does it not, he shall be deemed an alien from the love of the Lord. [MAXIMI CONF. *Serm. 7. de Eleemos*, tom. ii, Opp. p. 554, ed. Combefis.]

XXII.

SERAPION, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH.

I. HIS LETTER TO CARINUS AND PONTIUS.

Frag. 1. But that ye may see this also that the working of this false order called the new prophecy is abominated among all the brotherhood in the world, I have sent to you also the writings of the blessed Claudius Apollinarius, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Asia.

I Aurelius Cyrenius martyr pray that you are well!

Ælius Publius Julius, bishop, from Debeltum a colony of Thrace.

The Lord liveth, that is in heaven, that the blessed Sotas of Anchialus wished to cast out the devil of Priscilla, and the hypocrites would not let him. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, v, 19.]

II. CONCERNING THE GOSPEL OF ST. PETER.

Frag. 2. For we, brethren, receive both Peter and the other apostles like as we do Christ: but, as knowing men, we beg to be excused about their falsely inscribed names, knowing that we received not such. For I, when I was among you,

supposed that you all adhered to the true faith. And when I had not gone through the gospel put forth by them in the name of Peter, I said, If this is all that seems to cause you discouragement let it be read. But now that I have learnt that their mind finds a covering for itself in a certain heresy from the words spoken by me, I will hasten again to go to you: so that, brethren, expect me quickly. But we, brethren, know now to what heresy Marcian belonged, and opposed himself, not thinking what he was saying, which ye will learn from what was written to you. For we had it in our power from others who supported this same gospel, that is from the successors of those who began it, whom we call Docetæ (for the most part of those sentiments are from their teaching), to borrow it from them and go through it, and find the greater part of the true doctrine of our Saviour, but some things also deviating therefrom, which also we have submitted unto you. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, vi, 12.]

XXIII.

AN ANONYMOUS ELDER,

QUOTED BY

CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Fragment.

But, as the holy elder said :

Since the Lord, being the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, from modesty, as having been sent to the Gentiles, does not write himself apostle of the Hebrews, both from respect towards the Lord, and because he writes superfluously to the Hebrews, being the herald and apostle of the Hebrews. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.*, vi, 14.]

XXIV.

APPOLONIUS.

Frag. 1. Hear him [Apollonius] speaking thus in his very words about Montanus :

But who this new teacher is, his works and his teaching show. It is he who teaches the dissolution of marriages, who has ordained fasts, who named Pepusa and Tymion Jerusalem (now these are small cities of Phrygia) wishing to gather there those from every quarter, who appointed collectors of money, who invents the receiving of bribes under the name of offerings, who furnishes salaries to those who preach his word, that the teaching of his word may be strengthened by gluttony.

. . . . Concerning the prophetesses he says a little lower down :

We show them that these prophetesses were the first, from the time that they were filled with the spirit, who left their husbands. How then did they speak falsely, calling Prisca a virgin ?

Then he adds saying :

All scripture seems to me to forbid a prophet to take bribes and money. When then I see the prophetess having taken both gold and silver and costly clothing, how shall I not renounce her ?

Again a little lower, concerning one of the things agreed on amongst them, he says :

Moreover Themison also, clothed with marvellous covetousness, who bore not the sign of confession but by the multitude of his money put away his bonds, when he ought to have been humble-minded on that head, dared, boasting like a martyr, in imitation of the apostle, having drawn up a catholic epistle, to teach those who believed better than himself, and to strive with the words of emptiness, and to utter blasphemy against the Lord and his apostles, and the holy church.

And again about another of those who were honoured among them as martyrs he writes thus :

But, that we may not speak of more, let the prophetess tell us about Alexander who called himself a martyr, with whom she feasts, to whom also many make obeisance, whose piracies and other deeds of daring, for which he has been punished, it behoves not us to speak, but the back-chamber [register-office] holds them. Who then forgives any one his sins? Does the prophet forgive the confessor his thefts, or the martyr forgive the prophet his covetousness? For though our Lord said, "Possess not gold, nor silver, nor two coats," these have offended altogether contrariwise in the possession of these forbidden things. For we will show that those who are called prophets and confessors among them, make gain not only from the rich, but also from the poor and orphans and widows. And, if they have confidence, let them stand on this, and try the question with us on these conditions, that, if they are refuted, they shall cease offending for the future: for the fruits of the prophet must be proved; for from the fruit the tree is known. But that those who wish may know about Alexander, he was judged by Æmilius Frontinus the proconsul in Ephesus, not on account of the name, but of the robberies which he committed, being already a transgressor: then having lied against the name of the Lord, he was set free after he had led astray the faithful there. And his own district, from which he was, did not receive him, because he was a robber, and those who wish to know about him, have the

public office of Asia to refer to. Him the prophet knows not though he was many years with him ; and we, in refuting him, refute also through him the standing ground of the prophet. We can show the like in the case of many : and, if they are confident, let them abide the test.

Again, in another part of his writing, he speaks thus about the prophets that they boast of :

If they deny that their prophets have taken bribes, let them acknowledge this, that, if they be proved to have taken them, they are not prophets. And we will furnish endless proofs of these things. But all the fruits of a prophet must be tested. Tell me, Does a prophet dip himself in colours ? Does a prophet stain his eyebrows ? Does a prophet love ornament ? Does a prophet play with tables and dice ? Does a prophet lend on usury ? Let them confess whether these things are lawful or not, and I will show that they are done among them.

XXV.

MELITO, BISHOP OF SARDIS.

I. ON THE PASSOVER.

Frag. 1. In the time of Servilius Paulus, proconsul of Asia, at which time Sagaris became a martyr, there arose a great inquiry in Laodicea about the passover which fell seasonably in those days. And these things were then written. [EUSEB. iv, 26.]

II. APOLOGY FOR CHRISTIANITY.

TO THE EMPEROR MARCUS ANTONINUS VERUS.

Frag. 2. For what never happened before, the race of those who worship God is persecuted, being driven by new decrees throughout Asia. For shameless informers and lovers of others' goods, taking occasion from these ordinances, openly plunder us, day and night robbing those who do no wrong.

And if these things are done by your command, let it be well done. For a just king could never follow unjust counsels. And we with pleasure bear the honour of such a death. But we prefer to you this request, in order that having first taken notice of the workers of this contention, you may judge them

justly, if they are worthy of death and punishment or of safety and peace. But if this counsel and this new ordinance, which is not even proper against hostile barbarians, do not proceed from you, we pray you so much the more, not to neglect us in such a public persecution.

For our philosophy flourished before among barbarians, and flourishing among your nations under the great rule of Augustus your predecessor, became especially a fortunate advantage to your reign. For from that time the power of the Romans grew to size and brilliancy. Of whom you have become and will be the much-loved successor with your son, protecting that philosophy which helps to support the empire and which began with Augustus ; which also your predecessors honoured in addition to the other forms of worship. And this is the greatest proof of our philosophy having flourished for good in conjunction with the happily beginning empire, from no harm having befallen us since the rule of Augustus, but the contrary, every thing bright and glorious according to the prayers of all. Alone of all of them, persuaded by some envious men, Nero and Domitian sought to place our doctrine under calumny : from whom also it happened that the falsehood of the accusation concerning such persons flowed by unreasoning communication. But your pious forefathers set right their ignorance, often smiting in writing many who dared to alter any thing about them. Among whom your grandfather Hadrian appears to have written both to many others, and to Fundanus the proconsul, governor of Asia. But your father, when you also were governing all things for him, wrote to the cities that they should make no alteration concerning us : amongst whom also he wrote to the Larissæans, and to the Thessalonians and Athenians, and to all the Greeks. But we are persuaded that, as you even more hold on these things the same opinion as they, and are much more of a philanthropist and a philosopher, will do all things that we ask of you. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 26.]

Frag. 3. We are not worshipers of stones that have no feeling, but of God only, who was before all and over all, and moreover we are worshipers of his Christ, who was truly the Word of God before ages. [*Auctor. Chronici Paschalis*, ad p. 259, ed. Ducang.]

III. SELECTIONS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

PREFACE.

Frag. 4. Melito to Onesimus his brother greeting. Whereas you have often asked, in your zeal towards our doctrine, to have selections made for you from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour and all our faith, and moreover also wished to learn the accuracy of the ancient books, how many they are in number and what in order, I have taken pains to do so, knowing your zeal about the faith, and your love of learning about the doctrine, and that you most of all men prefer these things in your zeal towards God, striving for everlasting salvation. Having then traveled into the east, and gone as far as the place where they were preached and made, and having accurately learnt the books of the old covenant, I have drawn them up and sent it to you. Of which the names are, Five of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth, Four of Kings, Two of Omissions, of the Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, or also Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job; of Prophets Esaiiah, Jeremiah; of the Twelve in one book: Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. From which I have also made selections, dividing them into six books. [EUSEB. *Eccl. Hist.* iv, 26.]

IV. ON CHRIST'S INCARNATION:

AGAINST MARCION.

BOOK III.

Frag. 5. There is no need for those who have sense, out of the things which Christ did after his baptism, to prove the real and not apparent nature of his soul and his body, that human nature which is like ourselves. For, (says Melito) the things done by Christ after his baptism, and especially the signs, showed the divinity hidden under his flesh, and confirmed it to the world. For the same, being at the same time God and perfect man, ratified to us his two essences; his divinity through the miracles in the three years after his baptism, and his human nature in the thirty periods before his baptism, during which, on account of the imperfection according to the flesh, the signs of his divinity were hidden, although being true God before the ages. [ANASTASIUS SINATIA, in *Hodego suo, con. Acephalos*, xiii, 260, ed. Gretseri.]

V. SERMON ON CHRIST'S PASSION.

Frag. 6. God suffered by the right hand of an Israelitish woman. [ANASTAS. *ibid.* c. xii, p. 216.]

VI. FROM UNCERTAIN BOOKS.

Frag. 7. And our Lord Jesus Christ was bound as a ram, and was shorn as a lamb, and was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and was crucified: and he carried the wood on his shoulders, being led up to be sacrificed like Isaac by his father. But Christ suffered, whereas Isaac did not suffer; for

he was a type of Christ that was about to suffer: but he also who was a type of Christ caused stupor and fear to men. For it was a new mystery to see a son brought by his father to a mountain for sacrifice, whom having bound he placed upon the logs of consumption, getting ready with haste the preparations for his sacrifice. But Isaac is silent, being fettered like a ram, not opening his mouth nor speaking with his voice. For not fearing the sword, nor trembling at the fire, nor grieving at suffering, he bore patiently the type of the Lord. Isaac then was set forth in the midst fettered like a ram, and Abraham standing by and holding the naked sword, not being ashamed to slay his son. [*In Schedis Grabii Bodleianis, ex Catena in Genesin MS. sumptum.*]

Frag. 8. The ram appeared for sacrifice on behalf of Isaac the Just, that Isaac might be released from bonds. It, being slain, redeemed Isaac. So also the Lord being sacrificed saved us, and being bound released us, and being sacrificed redeemed us.

For the Lord was the lamb as a ram, which Abraham saw held in the bush of Sabec, but the bush set forth the cross, and that place Jerusalem, and the lamb the Lord entangled for a sacrifice. [*Ibid.*]

Frag. 9. By "being held by the horns" the Syriac and the Hebrew mean "hanging," so as more clearly to denote the cross: but also "the ram," in that it is right: for it does not say "lamb," young as Isaac, but "ram," adult like the Lord. But as by the bush of Sabec, that is of remission, he denoted the holy cross, so also Ezekiel at the end calls water of remission that which typifies holy baptism. For there are two things which furnish remission of sins, suffering on account of Christ, and baptism. [*Caten. MSta Vatic. et Nicephori Catena in Octateuch, Lips.*]

NOTES.

NOTES TO ATHENAGORAS.

Page 1, line 4. *World*] The Roman empire comprised, at this time, almost the whole of the known world.

Line 12. *Tenne Hodia*] There is probably some corruption here in the Greek text. The Benedictine editor translates it, "The Tenedians worship."

Line 15. *the box*] This was the basket containing the deformed Erichthonius, given by Minerva to the daughters of Cecrops, with orders not to examine it. The story is told by Ovid, Hyginus, and other mythological writers; it evidently alludes to the serpent-worship, which at one time prevailed in several countries of the world.

Page 4, line 19. *Thyestian meals*] Thyestes was the brother of Atreus, and was feasted at his table on the flesh of his own son.

Œdipus] He married his mother Jocasta, not knowing her to be his mother. Their two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, expiated the crime of their birth by mutual slaughter, and furnished to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides the subjects of their finest tragedies.

Line 33. . . .] The word which in the Greek fills this blank, *ἰμνοποιεῖν*, has no sense, and is wholly inadmissible. We may take the Benedictine editor's emendation and read *μηνύειν*, to inform against us, and we at all events get a meaning for the passage.

Page 5, line 23. *Word*] It is difficult to determine the accurate meaning of this expression, in Greek the *λόγος*, in the various passages where it occurs. Sometimes it seems to mean *mind*, *intellect*, or *reason*, sometimes no more than its etymology implies, *speech*, and sometimes also it approximates to the personal character which it bears in the theological writings of later ages. See pp. 10, 30, 83, 84.

Page 6, line 8. *unknown*] There is evidently some mistake here in the original; for the sense is directly contrary to what you would expect. Unknown things, generally, are indicated by those which are known, not the reverse.

Line 19. *Opsei...*] Opsimus, the name of a philosopher, is thought to be wanting.

Line 26. *next to it by one*] As I am wholly unable to understand this sentence, and can throw no light on the Pythagorean theory of numbers, I give Mr. Humphreys's translation of the passage with his note upon it: "And if the greatest number be the denary, or, according to the Pythagoreans, the tetrad,* which contains in it all arithmetical and harmonical proportions, and the next to this be nine; God is a Monad or Unity, for a unit is the excess of the greatest number above the next lesser.

NOTE.—* How God is a Tetrad, you will clearly find in the sacred discourse ascribed to Pythagoras, wherein God is the Number of Numbers. For if all things subsist by his eternal counsel, it is manifest that number, in every species of beings, depends upon their causes; the first number is there, and from thence derived hither. The determined limit of number is the decad; for he who would reckon further, must return to 1, 2, 3, and number a second decad; in like manner, a third, to make up 30, and so on, till having numbered the tenth decad, he comes to 100. Again, he reckons from a hundred in the same manner, and so may proceed to infinite by revolution of the decad. Now the tetrad is the power of the decad; before we arrive at the perfection of the decad, we find a united perfection in the tetrad, the decad being made up by addition of 1, 2, 3, 4. Moreover, the tetrad is an arithmetical mean betwixt one and seven, equally exceeding and exceeded in number. It wants 3 of 7, and exceeds 1 by 3. The monad, as being the mother of numbers, contains all their powers within itself. The hebdomad, as being motherless, and a virgin, possesseth the second place in dignity; for it is not made up of any number within the decad, as 4 is of twice 2, 8 of twice 4, or 9 of thrice 3, and 10 of twice 5. Neither doth it make up any number within the decad, as 2 makes 4, 3 makes 6, 5 makes 10. But the tetrad lying between the unbegotten monad, and the motherless hebdomad, comprehends all powers of the productive and produced numbers; for this, of all numbers under 10, is made up of a certain number, and makes a certain number; the duad doubled makes a tetrad, and the tetrad doubled makes 8. Hieroc. in Aurea Carm.; Stanl. Lives of the Philosophers, p. 526."

Page 7, line 28. *Zeus*] The English reader must be cautioned against this derivation of *Zeus* from *zeo* or of *Here* from *aëra*. No one knew less about the etymology of Greek words than the Greeks themselves.

"The argumentation of our author, against paying Divine honours and worship to many, but one only, is excellent and convincing, even upon the supposition of the stoical scheme. For it was essential to the doctrine of the stoics, and perfectly unavoidable from their principles,

that all those worshiped as gods by them, must perish, must be, as it were, dissolved, and melted down in the general conflagration, and no other deity possibly remain safe and unhurt, but their Zeus, or fiery principle. Thus Plutarch, in his *Defect of Oracles*, writing of the mortality of dæmons: 'We know the stoics maintain this opinion, not only concerning dæmons, but also the gods themselves, that they are mortal. For though they own such a multitude of gods, yet do they acknowledge only one of them eternal and incorruptible; affirming, concerning all the rest, that as they were made in time, so they shall be again corrupted and destroyed.' And Seneca compares the life of a wise man in solitude to that of Jupiter, in one of these conflagrations, when Jupiter remains alone, and all the other gods are perished: *Qualis futura est vita sapientis, si sine amicis relinquatur, in custodiam coniectus, aut in desertum littus ejectus? Qualis est Jovis cum Resoluto Mundo et Dis in unum confusis, paulisper cessante natura acquiescit sibi cogitationibus suis traditus*: 'If you ask, what would be the life of a wise man in a prison, or desert? I answer, The same with that of Jupiter: When the world being dissolved, and the gods all confounded into one, and the course of nature ceasing, he resteth in himself, conversing with his own thoughts.' And agreeably to this notion, is that ironical lamentation of Jupiter, for being left all alone in a conflagration. *Arr. l. iii, 13. 'Alas! I am now left all alone; I have neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Apollo with me; neither brother, nor son, nor nephew, nor kinsman to keep me company.'*"—HUMPHREYS.

Page 11, line 31. *homonyms and synonyms*] Juvenal's *torqueat enthymema* will here occur to the mind of the classical reader.

Page 12, line 27. *their father*] Jupiter was the father of Minos and Rhadamanthus. Our author perhaps here identifies him with the devil.

Laertius, in his life of Zeno the great stoic, gives the account of this notion: "The stoics affirm, 'That the world is governed by mind and Providence; this mind passing through all the parts of it, as the soul doth in us; which yet doth not act in all parts alike, but in some more, and in some less: it passing through some parts only as a habit, as through the bones and the nerves; but through others, as mind, and understanding, as through that which is called the Hegemonicon, or primary governing principle. So the whole world, being a living and rational animal, hath its hegemonical, or principal part too, whether this be the æther, or the heaven, or the sun. And they say also, that this first god is, as it were, sensibly diffused through all animals, and plants, but through the earth itself only as a habit. Nor was this notion peculiar to the stoics only, but it was generally believed by all the pagan theists; that God was diffused throughout the whole world, and did permeate and pervade all things, did exist in all things, and intimately actuate all things.' It was moreover

held, by the Egyptian Theologists, that God was 'a spirit, pervading the whole world.' And Sextus Empericius represents this to be the sense of Pythagoras, Empedocles, and all the Italic philosophers. 'That we men have not only a communion among ourselves with one another, but also with the gods above us, and with brute animals below us; because there is one Spirit, which, like a soul, pervades the whole world, and unites all the parts thereof together.'—HUMPHREYS.

Page 17, line 32. *Athela*] Derived from two Greek words, which mean "not suckled." See page 20, last line but two.

Page 20, last line. *Koré*] *Koré* is a Greek word meaning maid or girl: it is often used by Homer in its Ionic form *kouré*; and by frequent use became almost a proper name when applied to Proserpine, Minerva, and others. See p. 17, l. 19.

Page 33, line 23. *she in Tauris*] Diana worshiped in Tauris.

Line 35. *Parium*] A town of Mysia, on the Propontis, now called Camanar. The Alexander, of whom there is a statue at Parium, was Paris, son of Priam king of Tyre, who gave his name to the town.

Line 23. *Antinous, not long ago*] This allusion points pretty nearly to the time when this work was written about A.D. 130.

Page 40, line 21. *the Maid*] Proserpine, called *Koré* by the poets, *par excellence* the maid. See pp. 17, 20.

Page 43, lines 1—12. *they live like fishes . . . under evils*] The whole of this sentence is extremely incoherent in the Greek, and I have been obliged to leave it so in the translation. The meaning may however be gathered. It may be observed once for all, that Athenagoras, in any wise a difficult writer, is more so from the corrupt state of the text.

NOTES TO TATIAN.

Page 81, line 1. *his friend*] This was Callisthenes of Olynthus.

Line 17. *the poem*] This was a poem on Nature or Natural Philosophy, and was so very obscure that it is called in another place by Tatian the obscurity of Heraclitus.

Last line. *gutters, &c.*] In allusion to the materialism about which the philosophers entertained such conflicting and absurd doctrines.

Page 82, line 7. *canine marriage*] In allusion to some nuptial enormities perpetrated under the cloak of philosophy: Cynic means canine; the Cynics were in fact as rude as dogs. See CLEMENS ALEXAND. *Strom.* iv, c. 19, § 123.

Page 83, last line. *kindred matter*] That is men like himself.

Page 86, line 27. *Jupiter . . . daughter*] This was Proserpine already twice named, and again in line 34 as the Maid. Jupiter deceived her under the form of a dragon or serpent: hence the mystic serpent in line 30.

Line 34. *Navel*] Delphos was said to be the navel or centre of the earth.

Page 87, line 17. *poor man*] Otto adds conjecturally "and the rich man;" the words have probably been accidentally lost from the Greek copies.

Line 34. *Deltotus*] The Delta-shaped star: in derision of its deriving its name either from the Delta shape of Sicily or from Δ the first letter of Δία Jupiter.

Page 88, line 30. *Engonasi*] Hercules on his knees [*en gonasi*], among the constellations of heaven.

Page 89, line 1. *adulterous woman*] Clytemnestra.

Page 92, line 6. *minister*] The word here is *diakonos*, minister, deacon: and in the next page (93, line 19) we have a corresponding epithet *presbeuonta*:—both terms applied to the Holy Spirit.

Page 97, line 16. *Justin*] Justin Martyr: see his Apol. ii, c. 3.

Page 102, line 34. *Metis*] The Greek personification of Counsel.

Page 105, line 21. *barbarian writings*] The Old Testament. The Greeks denominated *barbarians* all who were not of Grecian descent, and the early Christian writers did not hesitate to adopt the name and to apply it even to themselves, if they did not happen to be Greeks. No allusion is here made to the New Testament.

Page 106, line 24. *invention of letters*] An important sentence—that the Hebrew writings were older than the invention of writings. The only way to solve this apparent contradiction, is to suppose that the Mosaic writings have been translated and compiled out of ancient hieroglyphical documents. This is the view which I have adopted in my Hebrew Records. See also page 113, line 15, where it is said that, according to the tradition of the Greeks, there were no written memorials of the Argive kings before the coming of Cadmus.

Page 110, line 28. *the Walk*] The Peripatus was a covered walk in the Lyceum at Athens, where the Peripatetic philosophers walked as they discoursed. Nothing is known of this Evanthe.

Page 114, line 25. *published things, &c.*] This sentence might not very unwarrantably, be rendered, "who have denied the existence of God." What book Tatian wrote in reply to them is not known.

NOTES TO THEOPHILUS.

Page 121, line 4. *Word*] In this expression lies one of the great difficulties which the writings of this period present. The Greek λόγος means not only *word*, but *reason*, *statement*, *ratio*, *argument*, and many other similar ideas. In the present sentence, the meaning is still further obscured by another expression equally doubtful, ἀρχή either *rule* or *principle*. Thus the whole sentence becomes altogether most difficult to translate into English, because its exact meaning is doubtful—εἰ λογὸν εἶπω, ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ λέγω. I have translated it above as applicable to God's Son the WORD, lest those who may be inclined to give it that sense, should say I had kept it back from the English reader, but I believe it has not that full meaning, but only that meaning in an incipient state, because the article τὸν is not prefixed to it, which, I think would be necessary, if the author wished so abruptly, and without previous notice, to speak of Christ, *the Word of God*. We may understand it as spoken of God's rationality, by which the universe is governed, and which is illustrated by "Let there be light, and there was light." This idea, in the second person of the Trinity, becomes more fully represented by Christ the Son of God. In other words, though it describes virtually the same thing, yet it is *abstract*, and not yet *concrete*. See § 10.

Page 122, line 12. *smallest*] according to the opinion of the ancients, who thought the sun was created *only* to give light to the earth, and looked upon it as infinitely smaller than that planet, because they were not aware of his immense distance from us.

Page 123, line 12. *light out of his treasures*] There is some confusion in this sentence: the same ideas and words are repeated: the copyist's thoughts seem to have wandered, so that he missed the place, and copied the same words over again and out of place.

Page 124, line 20. *nilling*] A good old English word, earlier than the time of Alfred.

Page 125, line 4. *bring you to life again*] This follows the Latin: but the Greek is not so clear, δύνασθαι σὲ καὶ μεταξὺ ποιῆσαι.

Page 126, line 10. *Capitolinus*] Different surnames were bestowed upon many of the heathen deities, according to the peculiar circumstances in which the agency of the god was supposed to be developed.

Line 17. *pay to the emperor*] The worship of the mother of the gods, or Bona Dea, was attended with all kinds of voluptuous rites, and paid a heavy tax to the Roman government. Tertullian, (*ad Nat.* lib. i, c. 10) alludes to this. "You demand a tax for the ground of the temple; another for the entrance to the sanctum, a third for the offerings, and for the doors; you sell the whole deity, she cannot be worshiped free:

lastly, more is paid to the tax-gatherers than to the priests." βασιλεὺς is properly *king*: the Greeks so translated the Latin word *imperator*.

Page 127, line 2. *Honour, &c.*] This is very different in our English Bible; but, as is well known, the Greek Fathers quote from the Greek Septuagint, which differs much in many places from our authorised version.

Line 12. *born*] Was it customary to anoint with oil children just born? Anointing for the games was a well-known practice. The series of puns on the name and etymology of Christ is not uncommon in the early Christian writings.

Line 32. *resurrection*] The reader must remember that Theophilus, and also St. Paul, who has a similar illustration in his Epistle to the Corinthians, were probably not very scientific natural philosophers, and that this illustration of the resurrection was addressed to the public who knew as little about the growth of plants as themselves. It would be puerile in the present day to argue the resurrection of the human body from the growth of plants: for the seed does not die in the ground, but grows up to be another individual plant of the same kind: in a word, that the growth of plants proves not *resurrection*, but *procreation*.

Page 128, line 28. *sacred writings*] Theophilus, like Tatian [p. 115, l. 35] and many others of the early Fathers, had been a heathen. Like Tatian also, he seems to have been led to Christianity by meeting with the Old Testament, not the New.

Page 129, line 28. *formerly*] Ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν may, I think, fairly be so interpreted. The Benedictine editor renders it by *ante aliquot dies*, [p. cxxiv], and seems to think that only a short time elapsed between the writing of the first book and that of the second.

Page 130, line 36. *the Sibyl*] "A good collection of all the Sibylline Oracles has been published within the last few years by Didot the well-known Paris bookseller. Concerning the origin and authorship of these poems much doubt exists. Probably all of them were written as late as the beginning of the Christian era, and interpolations have been since made to accommodate them to the purpose of pious fraudists. I have translated them into English in a loose literal sort of blank versification for the use of the English reader, and shall probably publish them at some future time.

Page 131, line 36. *Porch*] Stoics, so called from stoa, the Greek word for portico or piazza, in which these philosophers used to walk.

Page 132, line 4. *spontaneousness*] Αὐτοματισμός literally spontaneous. ness, if I may coin a word for the purpose, which better renders the Greek than chance, accident, or the Latin *fortuito*, used by the Benedictine translator.

Line 35. *writers*] Συγγραφεῖς writers, probably, here comprehends

both poets and historians, whose accounts of nature, he says, do not agree with the doctrines of the philosophers. At page 142, line 7, it means historians only.

Page 135, line 15. *Philopator*] One would rather say Ptolemy surnamed Philopator: but the Greek is as I have translated it. The fact is: all the kings of Egypt were named Ptolemy, which therefore may be taken as a surname also.

Line 16. *Bacchus*] Dionysus in Greek,—hence a few lines further on, the district is called Dionysian. I have preferred to keep the Latin name as being better known to the English reader.

Line 35. *in strange guise*] ἐν μορφῇ πρῶνιδι in Greek; *in aliena forma* is the Latin version.

Page 136, line 8. *Diogeneæ*] Διογενής Jove-born is a common epithet of Homer's heroes, and is rather a title of honour than descriptive of actual descent from Jupiter. By the Dians we may understand not only the people of Dium, but also perhaps the heroes to whom the epithet was given, Δῖοι τε Πελασγοί, καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, &c.

Page 137, line 14. *Thestius*] An unknown poet. Plutarch [*de Pyth. Oraculis*] quotes this from Pindar, "if at least," he adds, "Pindar is the writer of it."

Page 138, line 36. *principle*] See note to page 121, line 4.

Page 139, line 25. *a spirit*] πνεῦμα, *a spirit*, not τὸ πνεῦμα *the spirit*. The difference is unimportant, but the reference to the same subject elsewhere, suggests the propriety of a literal rendering.

Page 143, line 4. *beginning*] Here again seems to be a play on the word ἀρχή, as descriptive of the Word or Son of God. See note to page 121, line 4.

Page 145, line 23. *triad*] The Greek word for *trinity*.

Page 146, line 9. *whales*] κήτη seems to be a general name for all large animals of the sea: for whales are not found in the Mediterranean Sea. The same comprehensive meaning probably belongs to the Hebrew word, rendered whale in the history of Jonah: for the animal now called a whale has a throat too small to swallow a man's body.

Page 147, line 1. *hunted*] This is the general meaning of the Greek θηρεύω, and it is accordingly rendered in Latin *quod venando capiantur* by Clauser. On the other hand Wolf translates it *quod insidientur aliis*, because they lie in wait for others. But the Benedictine editor renders it *eo quod efferatæ fuerint*, "because they have been made brutal," &c., and this seems to agree well with what follows, "not as having been bad or deadly from the beginning." But I do not find that θηρεύω ever has that meaning; not even in the passage of Clemens Alexandrinus, [*Protrep.* p. 10.] unless, as the Benedictine editor suggests, we change θηρεύω into θηριώω.

Page 147, line 22. *word and wisdom*] Son and Holy Ghost [see page 145, line 23, triad of God.] The notion that God the Father addresses the Son and the Holy Ghost, in this plural form, "Let *us* make man," &c., is not held as of orthodox necessity by the church, though others, more recent than Theophilus, have held it.

Page 148, line 31. *carbuncle*] Ἀνθραξ carbuncle, λίθος ὁ πράσινος, a stone of the colour of πράσινον a leek. The most difficult words in every language to render into any other language seem to lie within the province of Natural History. The classical reader will remember how he was puzzled at school and at college to find corresponding English names for the various plants and vegetables occurring in Virgil.

Page 151, line 4. *wisdom*] Here seems to be the same as the Word or Son, and not the Holy Ghost. The subject is very obscure: see note to page 147, line 22.

Page 152, line 25. *Nile*] The Latin Scholiast on Germanicus's Aratus mentions this same tradition. See my edition of Germanici Opera, 8vo. Lond. 1838, page 54, line 13.

Page 156, line 6. *dragon*] This English pun corresponds exactly with the Greek original δράκων from δε-δρακ-έναι.

Page 157, line 7. *No town, &c.*] Theophilus here quotes Homer inaccurately: his words may be rendered thus:

He built Dardania, not yet sacred Ilium
Of vocal men had in the plain been founded.

157, line 24. *said above*] Where has Theophilus said this? The Benedictine editor, finding no other passage at all applicable, refers us to Γενεσις του κοσμου, the generation of the world, in § 29, as being probably of Theophilus, though the reader of that section only would certainly think that the Scriptural book of Genesis was meant. See another reference a few lines lower and again at § 31 and at § 19 of Book III, page 181.

Page 158, line 4. *Nebroth*] It may be as well here to remind the reader that the Greek Septuagint varies much from our authorised version, especially in the proper names: *Nebroth* in the Greek is *Nimrod* in the English Bible. The names, though so dissimilar in look, are nearly connected. The difference of vowel *e* and *i* is of no consequence: but *m* and *b* are connected; hence in Greek ἄμβροτος and ἄβροτος; also *d* and *th* are interchangeable; in the gradual development of English from the old Anglo-Saxon, no letters have caused so much confusion—*murder* and *murther* are almost living instances of the relation which these sounds bear to one another.

Page 159, line 10. *Thargal*] In the Bible he is called "Tidal king of nations." Theophilus here informs us that by such a description we are

to understand the Assyrians, whose king probably assumed this proud title to describe the extent of his sway.

Page 159, line 24. *Chorræans*] The English version reads, "And the Horites in their mount Seïr, unto El-paran which is by the wilderness."

Page 160, line 3. *triarch*] It is not clear why this name, which means the governor of a third part, should here be applied. Tetrarch, in the Gospels, is a similar word, and means the governor of a fourth part.

Page 160, line 29. *cube*] A cube with its sharp edges rounded off.

Page 169, line 19. *sanctum sanctorum*] Pythagoras, when in Egypt, was admitted by the priests, as we learn from Diogenes Laertius, into the *Adyta*, or sanctum-sanctorum of the temples, where he saw certain pillars, of Hercules, or of Mercury. See *Fabric. Biblioth. Gr.* i, page 74, and *Philostrati Vita Apoll. Tyan.* lib. i, cap. 1.

Page 170, line 4. *spontaneousness*] This word, as I have before observed on page 132, line 4, is generally rendered chance—improperly so. The doctrine of spontaneous growth, however little we may think it superior to that of chance, yet *is* superior. Even within the circle of our own limited observation, we see a kind of spontaneousness in the inward growth of animals and plants, but nothing like *chance*. Spontaneous movement or growth appears to be one of the laws by which God regulates the universe, but chance only is thought to prevail where any of those laws seem less clear to our comprehension.

Page 172, line 19.] The travels of Pythagoras in Italy, Greece, Syria, Egypt, and elsewhere, to procure knowledge, are well known.

Page 174, line 17. *mother of the gods*] The Bona Dea. See note to page 126, line 17.

Page 176, line 3. *four hundred and thirty*] The exact time of the Israelitish sojourn in Egypt has caused much perplexity to chronologers. Theophilus here and at § 24 evidently supposes that the 430 years are to be reckoned from the time of Jacob's going down into Egypt, but other arguments have now led to the conclusion that only about 215 years elapsed between Jacob and Moses. This is clearly a matter of history and chronology, and not of religion. It is open to every one to maintain whatever opinion he pleases. We need not and must not expect strict accuracy in the calculations given in the Bible, which generally deals in round numbers, and very often is very difficult to understand from the use of that vague and hyperbolical style, which we still find in oriental writings.

Page 177, line 21. *Moses says*] These words are not found in the books of Moses: but there is something like it in Hosea, xii, 6; and xiii, 4: also in Isaiah lvi, 1: xli: and xlv, 18.

Page 179, line 34.] This is a mistake of Theophilus: it is not in Plato's *Politics*, but in the third book of his *Laws*.

Page 181, line 26. *another work*] See note to p. 157, l. 24.

Line 30. *Deucalion*] It is proper, once for all, to warn the English reader, that not only the Fathers of the Church, but also all the most learned Greek and Roman writers, without exception, were utterly ignorant of etymology and the origin of languages.

Line 34. *eunuch*] I can give the reader no information about this tradition.

Page 183, line 3. *Manathos*] See the extracts from Manetho concerning the Jews in my *Heathen Records*.

Page 184, line 12. *Menander*] The extracts from Menander are also given in *Heathen Records*.

Page 186, line 8. *Hebrews*] This is the generally received etymology of the name Hebrews. But I rather think it is derived from the Hebrew word *über, over* or *beyond*, and that the Israelites, coming from *beyond* the Jordan, were so called, as being *strangers* or *foreigners*, and that, receiving this name from the people of the land, they at last adopted it themselves. Instances of the same process are still found in the names *Yankees*—the Indian sound of *Enghees* English—and *Welsh*, first given by others, and afterwards adopted by those people themselves.

Line 17. *sojourning*] See note to p. 176, l. 3.

Page 189, line 12. *appointed*] We may wonder from what source Theophilus got this fact about Tarquinius Superbus; for it is not named by Livy; and it is now generally admitted that we know hardly any thing for certain about the kings of Rome—not even their names or their existence can be relied on.

Line 21. *death...Verus*] It may be inferred from this, that Theophilus wrote his treatise later than the death of this emperor.

NOTES TO HERMIAS.

Page 193, line 5. *rebellion of the angels*] This opinion was held by many other philosophers, and is refuted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i, pag. 310, and vi, pag. 647. It is a well-known eastern notion, and has been beautifully embodied in the writings of some of our modern poets.

Line 10. *Heraclitus*] The editors think these names of the philosophers were originally side-notes, and have been copied by mistake into the text. The Oxford editor says that the name of Heraclitus is here misplaced, and should come after exhalation, in the next line. See Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. iv, 3.

Page 194, line 9. *three thousand years*] In allusion to Plato's views about the three periods of three thousand years. See Phædo, p. 248.

Line 21. *a fish*] Empedocles and Plato seem to be here meant. See Tertullian de Anima, xxxii, and Plato's Timæus, sub fin.

Page 195, line 22. *Empedocles*] It is said that Empedocles, in order that he might utterly disappear from the sight of men and be thought immortal, leaped into the crater of Mount Etna, but that one of his shoes was cast up with the lava, and detected his design.

Page 196, line 2. *elder*] τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἰώνων.

Line 23. *Jupiter and Tellus, &c.*] In Greek Zeus, Chthonia, and Kronos: we use the equivalent names of the corresponding Roman deities.

Line 35. *empty*] The doctrine of the *plenum* and the *vacuum*, as it is generally termed. I prefer the plain English words, *full* and *empty*.

Page 197, line 6. *Epicurus*] The reader must be told that the doctrine of unrestrained enjoyment was promulgated, not by this eminent philosopher, but by his disciples after him, who took a corollary from his system, as the exponent of the system itself.

Line 11. *Cleanthes*] the successor of Zeno as head of the stoic school, famous for his sobriety—a water-drinker.

Page 198, line 7. *triangle, &c.*] Here is some omission or corruption in the Greek. Worth, the Oxford editor of Hermias, has tried to reconstruct the whole passage: but it is an unfruitful labour to follow him; the general idea of the doctrine is as obvious as it is absurd.

Page 199, line 1. *endless worlds*] The ancients were not wholly without a knowledge of the wonders of astronomy, and the immense number of the heavenly bodies; though it is generally believed that it was nothing in comparison with the revelations of modern science made by means of the telescope.

NOTES TO OTHER WRITERS.

Page 208, last line.] Irenæus cites other sentiments and expressions of the *Elders*, but none of them so definite in language as to warrant our inserting them in this work.

Page 210, line 17. *St. Luke copied out*] It is difficult, as Dr. Routh justly observes, to understand how St. Luke could have written this dialogue, composed so many years after his death. There is probably some error in the Greek text.

Page 217, line 14. *which is in Greek*] Of course the word is not

Greek : but Hegesippus means that it signifies in Greek " bulwark of the people," &c. This description of James the Just corresponds remarkably with the accounts of the Essenes given by Josephus and Philo-Judæus. See *Heathen Records*, p. 43.

Page 219, line 32. *measures*] The Greek word is *plethrum*, a measure of one hundred feet : we have no equivalent term in English.

Page 220, line 17. *Judas*] This is the same who is called Jude in our English version, but this is inaccurate, the Greek word is precisely the same as the name of Judas Iscariot. It is translated Jude in our version, I suppose, for distinction's sake.

Page 221, line 8. *deacon*] I think it best to give both *minister* and *deacon* as the translation of the Greek word, that those who differ on the subject of this word's ecclesiastical import may use their own judgment in choosing between them.

Page 224. *Letter from the Churches of Lyons, &c.*] The translation of this letter, owing to an accident, has been borrowed from the old folio translation of Eusebius.

Page 243, line 10. *plate*] It is thought that the elders of the early church, may have worn a plate (*pettalon*, a leaf) on the breast, in imitation of the Jewish priests.

Page 251, line 12. *Alexander*] This man seems to have been of a character similar to that of Peregrinus Proteous in Lucian, who turned to his own ends the credulous simplicity of the Early Christians. (See *Heathen Records*, LUCIAN.)

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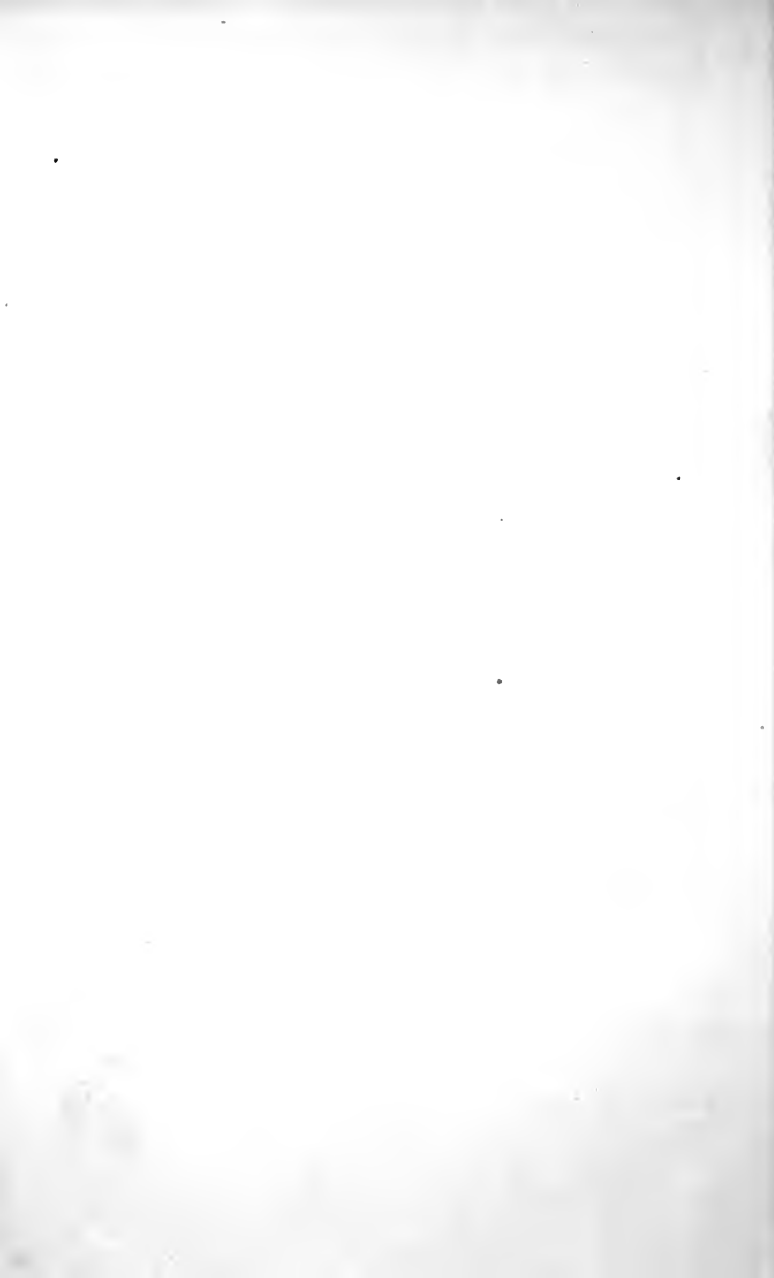
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